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STEFAN ZWEIG'S VICTORS IN DEFEAT

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Stefan Zweig frequently employs in his writings — and particularly in his biographies — the use of a contrasting figure, in order to highlight most clearly and effectively the character of his protagonist. Thus, for example, he contrasts Mary Queen of Scots, with Elizabeth, Erasmus with Luther, Castello with Calvin, and Thersites with Achilles. Such use of contrast would not in itself be unusually striking, were it not that Zweig in such a situation almost invariably selects for his major figure the individual who is ultimately defeated in his aims and efforts. His work presents a complete reversal of the normal "hero" concept, for his principals are always the losers in the life struggle. This disposition of Zweig to see true greatness in defeat, formed a fundamental aspect of his character and not only influenced his choice of subject but also determined his concept of tragedy from the time of his earliest drama *Thersites* (1909): "This drama announced a certain personal trait of my inner attitude which invariably never champions the so-called hero, but rather always sees tragedy only in the conquered. In my stories it is always the man who succumbs to destiny, in my biographies the personality of one who succeeds not in a worldly but in a moral sense."¹

This stress on the vanquished is so striking that Zweig's work appears almost as a glorification of defeat. However, Zweig was chiefly interested in depicting the psychological effect of a struggle for survival on character, and in almost every instance the effect of the physical defeat is mitigated by the spiritual strengthening of his subjects through suffering, which enables them to transcend defeat ultimately and gain the moral victory. Even in works where there is no occasion for a moral victory, Zweig uses the motif of defeat to demonstrate his belief in the energizing effect of suffering on character, by showing the victim emerging from his ordeal spiritually strengthened and capable of rising superior to events and to his personal fate, even though it be death: "From the time of my first play, *Thersites*, I had frequently occupied myself with the problem of the spiritual superiority of the vanquished. I was always

¹ Zweig, Stefan, *The World of Yesterday*, translator not named (New York, 1943), 168. All works quoted are by Zweig. Where no translator is indicated, the translations are my own.

tempted to depict the internal hardening which every form of power brings about in man, the spiritual numbness of an entire people which every victory entails, and to contrast it with the energizing power of defeat that plows through the soul so painfully and fruitfully" (*The World of Yesterday*, 253).

This tendency of Zweig to champion the moral victor, to stress the superiority of intellect over force, forms one of the most important aspects of his life and thought, for in addition to representing a major theme throughout his works and determining his concept of tragedy, it was also the code by which he lived and died. Although this philosophy of the victor in defeat permeates all of Zweig's work, this paper will be limited to an analysis of its effect on his life and on his series of famous biographies, where it is most clearly evident, and where it plays the most important role both in determining his choice of subject and in carrying out his theory of tragedy. However, to show the genesis of this philosophy in Zweig, two early works, *Thersites* and *Jeremiah*, must be mentioned briefly.

Thersites is important here as the first evidence of Zweig's avoidance of the standard hero and of his interest in portraying the strengthening effect of suffering on a weak individual. At this early date Zweig had not yet begun to think in terms of the moral or spiritual victory of the vanquished, but was rather interested in the conflict of Thersites and Achilles solely from the standpoint of the psychological transformation within Thersites, which enabled him to overcome his cowardly nature and face death bravely and almost joyfully. Because of its artificiality, this is not a good tragedy, and Zweig himself recognized this fact by never allowing the work to be reprinted even after he rewrote it in 1919. Apart from the question of its literary value, however, the drama does reveal that both Zweig's preference for the weaker individual and his belief in the growth of character through suffering were inherent and instinctive aspects of his mental make-up. It was only later in *Jeremiah*, under the strain of the first World War and after he had been exposed to the influence of Verhaeren and Rolland, that Zweig consciously developed this attitude into his personal philosophy.

Much has been written about the influence of Verhaeren and Rolland on Zweig, and there is no doubt that each of these writers in turn was of major importance to his artistic and personal development. Although it would be difficult to overemphasize the importance of Verhaeren's influence, because of the critical period at which it occurred, that of Rolland was undoubtedly the more profound and enduring. By both men Zweig was made aware of the responsibility of the artist and was taught that an artist should have no other guide than his own conscience. However, it was Rolland who reminded Zweig of what he had overlooked in his work because of his worshipful attitude toward art: not love for art was the primary concern of the artist, but love for mankind.

This valuable lesson, coupled with the personal example of Rolland and the experience of the war, completely transformed Zweig's thinking and changed him from a writer of harmless short stories and artificial poetry into a serious and purposeful author.

In the living example of Rolland, who lived his ideals at the cost of personal sacrifice and hardship, Zweig found the corroboration of the ideas he had portrayed in *Thersites*. Not only was Rolland the poet of the vanquished, he himself was one of the vanquished, suffering defeat over and over again in his efforts on behalf of humanity, his country, and the furtherance of enlightenment. The vital lesson for Zweig was that Rolland did not become discouraged or disillusioned by his setbacks, but arose each time with renewed energy, more convinced than ever of the necessity and importance of his message. As Zweig stated in his biography of Rolland: "It has always been his peculiar talent to create out of defeat the strongest of his works, to draw from resignation new ardors, to derive from disillusionment a passionate faith."² It was Rolland's creed, which later became Zweig's, that "humility conquers the world, love conquers hatred" (*Romain Rolland*, 82).

The example of Rolland added a new dimension to Zweig's belief in the strengthening effect of suffering, for every defeat was transmuted by the great humanitarian into a moral triumph, humanly and artistically. From him Zweig learned that suffering alone was not sufficient to produce greatness, but that one must first have achieved a triumph over suffering. "None but he who rises from the depths, can bring a message to the heights of the spirit" (*ibid*, 139). This thought became a crucial part of Zweig's philosophy, and although a pessimist by nature, he was cheered by this ray of hope, and held to it until the end of his life.

Rolland also confirmed Zweig's concept of the hero, for he believed that a hero was not a man of action nor one whose thoughts engender actions. A hero was great through the power of the heart and did not fight for success, but for an idea in which all can participate. Zweig summarized Rolland's attitude toward heroism in the words: "There is but one heroism on earth — to know life and yet to love it" (*ibid*, 138).

During the first World War Rolland jeopardized his career and his fame in his native France to work in Switzerland on behalf of humanity by attempting to unite the intellectuals of Europe against the war. Under this stimulus, as well as that of the war itself, which had shattered his former complacent world and had shaken him to the depths of his soul, Zweig wrote the drama *Jeremiah* (1917), the first of all his works, he stated, that meant anything to him.

In *Jeremiah* Zweig had not intended to write a pacifist play, but had wanted to "portray the man who in the hour of defeat proved himself the only one not only able to endure it, but also to master it" (*The World of Yesterday*, 253). In *Jeremiah*, the man of futile warnings, Zweig

²*Romain Rolland*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1921), 62.

was describing himself, for he had repeatedly argued against the folly of war. For the first time in his life Zweig met with a reversal in his personal life, and this proved to be an awakening for him. Through the crisis of the war he learned that the sword is mightier than the pen and that the intellect is powerless in the face of mass hysteria. However, he retained his confidence that the spirit of humanity triumphs ultimately, and it was this faith that guided the writing of *Jeremiah* as well as his subsequent important works.

The selection of Jeremiah as a subject suggests an additional factor which contributed to the formulation of his particular Weltanschauung — his Jewish heritage. As Zweig remarked in his autobiography: "Was it not my people that again and again had been conquered by all other peoples, again and again, and yet outlasted them, because of some secret power — that power of transforming defeat through will, of withstanding it again and again? Had they not presaged, our prophets, this perpetual hunt . . . and even blessed it as a way to God? Had trial not eternally been of profit to all and to the individual?" The eternal sufferings and the eternal strength of the Jews Zweig portrayed in the legend *Der begrabene Leuchter* (1936), a work written almost twenty years after *Jeremiah*. However, the message throughout all these years remained the same: "In the long run the spirit is stronger than force" (*Legenden* [St. Gallen, n.d.], 108).

Jeremiah encompasses both the strength of the defeated Jews and the tragedy of the man of peace, who foresees disaster but cannot convince his friends and countrymen of the absurdity of war. Zweig wrote this play directly from his heart, and the impelling sense of urgency with which he regarded his message imbued the play with great strength, making it his finest drama. Jeremiah in his repeated attempts to warn the people of impending disaster suffers every form of indignity and personal humiliation, but never loses faith in himself or his purpose. As a foil for Jeremiah Zweig portrayed King Zedekiah, the man of force who clamors for war, but who collapses when his army has been defeated. By this contrast Zweig highlights his conviction that in time of crisis it is the seemingly weaker individual, who, because of his sufferings, is better able to withstand reverses of fortune. Not only does Zweig convey his point by this contrast of the two men, but underscores it by means of a powerful final scene, showing the Jews being led off into captivity. One of the guards remarks that this procession "resembles rather the triumphal entry of a king than the exodus of an enslaved people."³ The final line of the play asserts Zweig's faith in the unconquerability of the human spirit: "A nation can be controlled by force; its spirit never" (*Jeremiah*, 336).

From the time of the war Zweig was a changed person. He who had never known suffering or hardship in his personal life, who had lived

³ *Jeremiah*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1939), 333.

selfishly for his art, unconcerned about the rest of mankind, had come face to face with chaos and had attempted in vain to fight against it. Not surprisingly, this profound experience made it impossible for Zweig to return to his pre-war attitude and had given both him and his work new purpose.⁴ *Jeremiah* marks the beginning of Zweig's intellectual rebirth. His period of apprenticeship to Verhaeren and Rolland was ended, and he was now a mature, serious, and self-sufficient author, accountable only to his own conscience.

During the years that followed, Zweig created the ambitious undertaking *Baumeister der Welt*, a series of biographical works which he called an attempt to formulate a typology of the spirit. Since in these works Zweig was writing with a specific aim in view, the concept of the victor in defeat either does not occur at all or only incidentally and in a modified sense, as in the case of writers like Kleist, Hölderlin, Stendhal, and Marceline Desbordes-Valmores, who were ignored by their age, but whose works brought them posthumous fame. The idea was not forgotten, however, and wherever the material affords an opportunity, he follows the familiar pattern. For example, in the portrayal of the race for the south pole, Zweig depicts the expedition of Scott rather than that of the successful Amundsen. Although Scott was beaten to the pole by Amundsen and lost his life on the return trip, Zweig interprets his defeat as a triumph of the spirit, for his films and letters were subsequently discovered and made available to science and the world.⁵

The chronicle of Scott's expedition was also the first instance of Zweig's mature concept of tragedy which closely resembles the nineteenth century German view as espoused by Schopenhauer and Hebbel. Zweig's subjects do not transgress any moral laws, nor are they in any way the victims of a tragic flaw. The highest type of tragedy according to Zweig is seen in the defeat of an individual by the unconquerable superior force of fate. As an astute student of psychology Zweig was always principally interested in character and in the growth of character under adversity. Consequently he measures greatness, not in terms of success, but in terms of the struggle. He hated sham, persiflage, and superficiality, and hence loved to portray individuals engaged in a struggle for survival, for here he could depict a personality freed of all pettiness and forced to draw upon every untapped source of energy in his being. Even though the effort was unavailing, the tragedy of death is alleviated

⁴ "Without all that I suffered in sympathy and in anticipation during the war, I would have remained the writer I had been before the war, 'pleasantly agitated,' as certain pieces of music are marked, but never fixed, composed and responsive to my very vitals. Now for the first time I had the feeling that when I spoke it came from myself and from my time." *The World of Yesterday*, 254.

⁵ "Thus, what appeared to be in vain, becomes fruitful once again, that which was lost becomes an intoxicating appeal to humanity to extend its energies toward the unattainable; in a grandiose contradiction renewed life results from a heroic death, and from defeat comes will for the ascendancy into infinity." *Sternstunden der Menschheit* (Frankfurt am Main, 1950), 280.

by the growth of the individual, and also by the gaining of the spiritual or moral victory. By this means Zweig vitiated the hopelessness and the pessimism of Schopenhauer's concept of tragedy. His more optimistic attitude was expressed in the case of Scott and was continued throughout his remaining works, beginning with *Marie Antoinette* (1932).

Zweig was attracted to the subject of Marie Antoinette because of the mass of controversy surrounding her life. His biography — and this is true in every instance — was his attempt to discover the truth of the matter for himself. He also perceived in Marie Antoinette a perfect example of his view of tragedy, for in the young French queen Zweig saw an average woman of mediocre ability suddenly swept into a maelstrom of events which she neither wanted nor could even understand. This circumstance of an average person called upon by history to play a far more important role than her capabilities would permit was to Zweig a tragedy of much greater emotional impact than was to be found in the defeat of a conventional hero.

Tragical tension is not solely conditioned by the mighty lineaments of central figures, but also by a disproportion between man and his destiny. This disproportion is invariably tragical. It may manifest itself dramatically when a titan, a hero, a genius finds himself in conflict with his environment, which proves too narrow and too hostile for the performance of his allotted task . . . But tragedy arises no less when a momentous position, a crushing responsibility is thrust upon a mediocrity, or a weakling. Indeed tragedy in this form makes a strong appeal to our human sympathies . . . Precisely because the average man, the mediocrity, lacks vision, lacks insight, his sorrow seems to me as great as — and perhaps more moving than — that of the true hero, whose misfortunes stir the popular imagination . . . Marie Antoinette was a crowning instance of such an involuntary acceptance of the heroic role.⁶

Not only did Zweig find in Marie Antoinette a vehicle which corresponded to his views of the tragic, but also an instance of the triumph of spirit over all adversity and tribulation. This average woman, who was subjected to every form of personal degradation and every extreme of public calumny, did not collapse under the strain, but rather discovered hidden sources of greatness in her character and achieved a degree of nobility which she might otherwise never have attained: "The consciousness of a supreme duty lifted her character to a higher level than she had ever known. Just before the mortal, the transient frame perished, the immortal work of art was perfected. Marie Antoinette, the mediocrity, achieved a greatness commensurate with her destiny" (*Marie Antoinette*, xv).

Following the publication of *Marie Antoinette*, historical events once again began to threaten Zweig's secure world and manner of living. The humanist, who, as his letters to his wife and helpmate, Friderike attest,

⁶ *Marie Antoinette*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1933), xii.

wanted only to be left in peace to devote himself to his writing, was again involved in a situation which he was unable to ignore. Above all he desired to remain aloof from politics, and yet he found this impossible, since the current political attitude was contrary to every belief he cherished. As previously he had used *Jeremiah* to sound the warning to his age, Zweig now used the biography of Erasmus, which he called his most personal work after *Jeremiah*.

Triumph und Tragik des Erasmus von Rotterdam (1934) was not only a warning against dictators, but also the means for Zweig, who felt a close personal bond with Erasmus, to justify his reluctance and unwillingness to become embroiled in political controversy. In this book, which Zweig called a veiled self-portrait, he depicted the suffering and the tragedy of the type which was powerless to act except through the medium of the intellect and the written word. This was the tragedy of the universal spirit, who, for seeing all sides of a question, was unable to champion any but the vaguest general ideas, and these only reluctantly; for this type hates to make a decision, realizing that every decision contains as much error as truth. This was also the tragedy of the vacillating, passive, conciliatory nature, who is called upon by history to play a direct, active aggressive role. The tragedy here arises because this type of person recognizes what his function should be, and yet is unable, by virtue of his character, to act. Thus the man of indecision must endure in addition to the taunts and jeers of his contemporaries the pangs of his own conscience. Nevertheless, he cannot act differently and simply suffers, alone and misunderstood. In one respect alone does this type know no hesitance, no reluctance to assert himself, no weakness or compromise. This is in the matter of his personal freedom and integrity, which he guards with every means at his disposal.

In the biography of Erasmus Zweig was contrasting humanism with fanaticism, and as usual used individuals to make these abstract ideas more plastic. He thus opposes Erasmus, the idealist, philosopher, and pacifist, to Luther, the fanatic, monomaniac of one idea, and the man of action. As Zweig knew only too well from his experiences in Switzerland during the first World War, the humanist is unable to defeat the man of force, and the philosopher is always at the mercy of the fanatic. Zweig realized what could be accomplished by a man who dedicated his life to a single idea, for he had often depicted such intellectual monomaniacs. He was in fact fascinated by the spectacle of an individual triumphing over all adversity by sheer might of will, and it was this very feature which attracted him to Balzac and Magellan, and which even elicited from him grudging respect for Mary Baker Eddy. He was not one to underestimate the power of a fanatic, and it was doubtless his ability to foresee the coming disaster under Hitler that caused his pessimistic attitude during these years.

Because of his inability to fight on behalf of his ideas, Erasmus, ac-

according to Zweig, never achieved the full recognition that was his due by virtue of the intellectual contribution to his age, and the Reformation does not bear his name as its hallmark as it rightfully should. Moreover, he even found it difficult to maintain himself in one home during his lifetime, being forced to leave Louvain because it was too Catholic, and Basel because it was too Protestant. "The free, the independent spirit, who is bound to no dogma and refuses to decide for any party, has no home anywhere on earth."⁷ Nevertheless Erasmus never surrendered his ideals and died as he lived, a free man.

Zweig also makes the point clear, that Erasmus was not defeated by his age, but was the spiritual victor, because he defended the highest ideals of mankind, namely — "The idea of a future when all mankind shall work harmoniously together towards a common destiny" (*Triumph und Tragik des Erasmus von Rotterdam*, 244).

While making arrangements to move to England, Zweig discovered by chance the subject of his next biography, *Maria Stuart* (1935). He was intrigued by the conflicting opinions about the Scottish Queen and set out to resolve the controversy to his own satisfaction. Unlike Marie Antoinette, Maria Stuart was from the beginning a strong-willed person, who fearlessly carved out her own destiny. It was this very temperament that Zweig considered her tragic fate, for she could not acquiesce to her enemy, Elisabeth, even to save her life.

Zweig leaves no doubt that he considers Maria Stuart guilty of the crimes attributed to her. Yet he extends his praise to her as the morally superior individual, while his scorn is reserved wholly for Elisabeth. Zweig was never bound by the standards of conventional morality, and he considered the straightforward course followed by Maria as revealing more nobility of character and hence being more moral than the dissembling behavior of Elisabeth. The heroic conduct which Maria Stuart maintained to her death made her in Zweig's eyes the spiritual victor over Elisabeth.

While he was writing *Maria Stuart*, the political situation in Germany had rapidly worsened, and Zweig chose for his next topic one which, like Erasmus, would enable him to comment directly upon his own age. The struggle of Castellio and Calvin presented him with a suitable subject, both because of the parallelism of the two periods and because the two powerful adversaries permitted him to work in contrasts. Typically, he chose as his protagonist not Calvin, who emerged as the victor in the battle, but the defeated Castellio, who according to Zweig gained the spiritual victory.

Like Erasmus, Castellio too was a humanist, with the important difference that he was willing to risk his life to defend and uphold his ideals. Zweig's admiration for Castellio is clearly apparent, and one might

⁷ *Triumph und Tragik des Erasmus von Rotterdam* (Wien, 1935), 204.

say that if Erasmus represented Zweig as he actually was, Castellio is a portrait of Zweig as he would like to have been. *Castellio gegen Calvin* (1936) is one of Zweig's most engrossing biographies, and the intensity of feeling conveyed by the book attests to the heightened emotion of the author as he wrote it.

In *Castellio gegen Calvin* Zweig, to whom nothing was more detestable than any infringement upon his personal freedom, exerted every particle of skill as a writer to describe the insidiousness of any kind of dictatorship, religious or political. The real issue at stake in the struggle between the two men was not one of theology exclusively, but was a question that "must be fought out ever anew under different names and forms."⁸ Regardless of the names assigned to the two poles of thought, the ultimate question is the highly personal decision of what is more important to the individual, "the humane or the political, the ethos or the logos, the personality or the community" (*Ein Gewissen gegen die Gewalt*, 19).

For Zweig the choice is clear: nothing must be tolerated which in any way restricts the freedom of the individual. "Even the purest truth, if thrust onto others with force, becomes a sin against the spirit" (*ibid*, 14). Government is desirable and necessary, but government which turns into dictatorship and tyranny is a crime against humanity. Zweig's one hope and consolation in this discussion of tyranny is his confidence that the spirit of man can never be conquered: "the moral independence of humanity remains in the long run — eternal consolation this — indestructible" (*ibid*, 15). This belief in the imperishability of the spirit or of ideas forms the crux of Zweig's philosophy and is the conviction that sustained him through his most pessimistic periods.

Although Castellio died from the accumulation of hardships endured while imprisoned, his death signaled a change in the general attitude. Whereas people had been afraid to support him during his trial, his burial became "a moral triumphal procession" (*ibid*, 259). His enemies had been able to kill the mortal man, but "the idea for which he lived and died stands like all truly humane thoughts above all earthly and temporal power" (*ibid*, 261). Zweig takes particular satisfaction in the knowledge that the very countries which were most strongly penetrated by intolerance became the strongholds of tolerance in Europe. "Precisely where Calvin's religion was law, Castellio's idea became reality" (*ibid*, 270).

Zweig concluded this work — the last of his books to appear in Germany before the ban against him was levied — with a prediction on the fall of the dictatorship. He stated that all despotic governments must necessarily fail, for "only the idea of spiritual freedom, idea of all ideas and therefore succumbing to none, has eternal recurrence, because it is eternal as the spirit" (*ibid*, 274).

⁸ *Ein Gewissen gegen die Gewalt* (Berlin, 1954), 11.

Following the publication of *Castellio gegen Calvin* and the legend *Der begrabene Leuchter* (1936), Zweig turned away from contemporary events, which he now regarded as hopeless. His one desire, which he repeated again and again in his letters to his wife Friderike, was to keep out of everything and to have "peace throughout the world and in my own home."⁹ To Zweig his work was always of first importance, and as his letters attest, he never felt that he was accomplishing enough. His wish to keep free of all entanglements, political or personal, stemmed primarily from the fear that they would encroach upon his time and work. These years were filled with vexations for Zweig, and in his distressed frame of mind everything assumed major proportions to him, such as the petty irritations of constant moving, trouble with his publishers (Zweig always insisted that his books be visually appealing and moderately priced), difficulties with his translators, and the effect of political events on his book sales. Added to these lesser worries was the sad plight of many of his friends as well as the major step of the dissolution of his marriage to Friderike. The sacrifice of his large library, the breaking-up of his precious manuscript collection, and the confiscation of his research files also contributed to his pessimistic feeling of futility and hopelessness.

The few major books which Zweig completed during these years treated subjects far removed from current events, with the single exception of his autobiography, *Die Welt von Gestern* (1942). *Magellan* (1938) was inspired by Zweig's first trip to Brazil in 1938 and was conceived as a tribute to the power of man's will, a theme which recurs frequently in Zweig's works. This same theme is found in the biography of Balzac, the work that was to be Zweig's magnum opus. The work was never finished, although it is complete enough to show its relationship to the other biographies as regards theme and treatment. Balzac was no new topic to Zweig. A short essay on the French author had introduced the first volume of the *Baumeister der Welt* series, and for more than twenty years Zweig had collected material for this major study. His collection of Balzac's corrected proof sheets were among the most prized items of his manuscript acquisitions, and altogether Zweig's attitude amounted to a case of hero worship. What attracted Zweig primarily was Balzac's strength of will, and like a leitmotif he stresses repeatedly that whenever Balzac put his mind to anything, he was able to accomplish it. According to Zweig Balzac's "real genius lay in his willpower, and it may be called chance or fate, that this willpower found its outlet in literature."¹⁰ This indomitable will enabled him to extricate himself from difficulties which would have broken an ordinary man, until, just as he obtained happiness and the realization of his ambition, he died. His death, however, rather than indicating a finality, was but the beginning of his reputation, which has grown steadily with the years.

⁹ Stefan Zweig — Friderike Zweig, *Briefwechsel 1912-1942* (Bern, 1951), 285.

¹⁰ *Balzac*, translated by William and Dorothy Rose (New York, 1946), 102.

On February 23, 1942, at Petropolis in Brazil, Zweig and his second wife, Lotte Altmann, committed suicide. Although the full rationale behind this step will probably never be deduced, several reasons have been advanced by various commentators and friends of Zweig, and others readily suggest themselves. The most frequently stated cause was his unhappiness at being cut off from his work and from books necessary to start new projects. Zweig lived for his work, and there is little doubt that the absence of a major library loomed as an important factor, although with time and patience this deficiency could have been overcome. At the very time the decision to end his life was taken, his Balzac manuscript was in the mail on its way to him.

The general defeat of his humanistic efforts also aggravated his constant feeling of pessimism and depression, while additional factors were the loss of many of his friends, some, like his biographer Erwin Rieger, by suicide, and others simply from age. Friderike Zweig has also indicated that Lotte, his second wife, was a passive woman, who simply acquiesced with Zweig's moodiness and despondency rather than to help him fight against it. In addition there was the sadness at the loss of his major public in Germany, at the lack of contact with his remaining friends, and at the deprivation of the active intellectual intercourse which meant so much to him.

Although Brazil had received him graciously and extended to him every courtesy, the enforced idleness of his new existence only palled on the author, who had always lived at a strenuous pace. The unbroken tranquility of his life represents in my opinion the key to Zweig's action. A clue to this belief is found in his autobiography, where on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday Zweig had written:

"Strangely enough, the very fact that I had no desire in this hour caused me private discomfort. Something in me — not I, myself — asked me whether it was really desirable that life go on like this, so calmly, orderly, lucratively, comfortably, quite without fresh exertions or trials? Were not the privileges and complete security of my existence foreign to my essential self? . . . Was I always to live here, always sit at this same desk, and write books, one book then another book, receive royalties . . . absent from the play of chance, all dangers and suspense? Was it always to go on like this, until 60, until 70 on an even keel? . . . Every artist harbors a mysterious duality: if life tosses him about stormily he yearns for peace; but no sooner is peace given him than he longs for the old agitation." (*The World of Yesterday*, 356)

The thought of living out his life "on an even keel" robbed Zweig of any interest in the future. Life without anticipation, suspense, and zest was unrewarding. To this fear of boredom must be added Zweig's avid dislike of growing old, which he carried to the point of a phobia. He absolutely detested any celebration of his birthday or any reminders that the years were passing. For one as sensitive about age as Zweig,

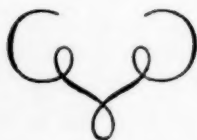
it was disheartening to think that at least five years or more would pass before the war would end and he would be able to pick up the threads of his life.

There was one additional factor that made this step possible for Zweig, this being the fact that to Zweig suicide was not amoral. As has been mentioned previously, Zweig did not believe in the standard concept of morality and lived by his own code, although as can be seen in his championing of the defeated, his own philosophy was generally rooted in Christian ethics. Zweig's attitude toward suicide is most clearly apparent in his analysis of Heinrich von Kleist. Far from pronouncing a moral judgment of Kleist's action, Zweig praises the heroism of this choice of death and considers it a fitting capstone to his life. "Kleist, master of the art of tragedy, fashioned his sorrows into the imperishable memorial of his own end; and all suffering grows symbolical when it enjoys the privilege of creation."¹¹

In this same manner Zweig prepared for himself a heroic death. His suicide can in no way be construed as a fearful running away from life, as a negative step, but was rather the joyful advance of a man taking positive action. Zweig was determined never to let the reins of his life slip from his hands, as can be seen by his parting message to the world: "After one's sixtieth year unusual powers are needed in order to make another wholly new beginning. Those that I possess have been exhausted by long years of homeless wandering. So I think it better to conclude in good time and in erect bearing a life in which intellectual labor meant the purest joy and personal freedom the highest good on earth" (*The World of Yesterday*, 437).

On the spiritual plane Zweig resembles his defeated heroes, for as a humanist he, too, was defeated by his age. However, in death he transcended this defeat, supremely confident that the ideas which he represented would live on and would once again dominate the day.

¹¹ *Master Builders*, translated by Eden and Cedar Paul (New York, 1939), 440.



HUMANISM AND THE NOVEL:
AN INTRODUCTION TO HEINRICH MANN'S
"HENRI QUATRE"

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It is the aim of the present essay to assess the literary value of Heinrich Mann's *Henri Quatre*, a novel which, in this writer's opinion, occupies a position in contemporary German literature comparable only to that of Thomas Mann's *Der Zauberberg* and Hermann Hesse's *Das Glasperlenspiel*. A few introductory remarks may be helpful in determining the approximate position of this novel within the *Gesamtwerk* of its author. Because it is equally devoted to art and politics, Heinrich Mann's career may be divided into periods according to the predominance of one or the other of these elements. In his early novels and the short stories contemporaneous with them, Heinrich Mann's outlook is largely aesthetic, although, from *Im Schlaraffenland* (1900) to *Die Göttinnen* (1903), *Professor Unrat* (1905), and *Zwischen den Rassen* (1907), a growing awareness of matters political is noticeable. The full equilibrium between art and politics, however, is established only in *Die Kleine Stadt* (1909), a work in which both spheres of activity are shown to elucidate and interpenetrate one another. In Heinrich Mann's next novel, *Der Untertan* (completed in 1914), the political element definitely asserted itself; and while at first appearing in the literary form of satire, it soon demanded the author's undivided attention. The 1920's saw Heinrich Mann as the leading *Kulturpolitiker* of the Weimar Republic, whose activity is reflected in the numerous speeches and polemical essays published during that period. As an artist and novelist, Heinrich Mann came into his own again when, having witnessed the collapse of German democracy, he went into exile. It was in France that he wrote *Henri Quatre*, his *magnum opus*, which is a glowing tribute to his second spiritual fatherland. In this novel, Heinrich Mann's political maturity and artistic inspiration combine to form a synthesis that is rare in modern literature. First conceived in 1925 during a visit to Henri's native province, Béarn, the work matured slowly in the author's mind: "Sieben Jahre denkt man an den großen Plan, der wartet. Er kann es. Ich [Heinrich Mann] hat Zeit. Das Buch zu schreiben nimmt er sich noch einmal sechs."¹ The first volume, *Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre*, appeared in 1935, the second, *Die Vollendung des Königs Henri Quatre*, in 1938, when Heinrich Mann was sixty-seven years old. Two years later, he crossed the Pyrenees to go into his second exile, America, where he died in 1950 while preparing to return to Germany.

¹ Heinrich Mann, *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt* (Stockholm, n.d.), p. 491.

I.

Historiography being a science devoted to the study of past events in their historical context, the historian's task resembles that of the poet in that he, too, must decide how to strike the proper balance between conflicting motivations. And while the less imaginative historian may be slow in progressing from the interpenetration of events to the analysis of characters, great historians like Ranke will put to use their personal insight into the nature of man. It is in this area of experience that the poet and the historian meet on equal ground.

A close examination of Heinrich Mann's *Henri Quatre* will show that its author has carefully studied the historical sources available to him, and that he has incorporated many of them into his work-in-the-making.² A few examples, taken almost at random and easily augmented, will make this clear to the reader.³ At one point in his novel, Heinrich Mann quotes from a letter in which Henri's mother describes the moral corruption of the French court: "Ce ne sont pas les hommes ici qui prient les femmes, ce sont les femmes qui prient les hommes" becomes "Das geht soweit, daß hier die Frauen die Männer auffordern."⁴ The enchanted island depicted in Henri's letter to Madame de Gramont (his *Corisande*) is taken over into the novel.⁵ The expression "la racine de mon amour," used by Henri to sum up his feelings toward Gabrielle d'Estrées, reappears as the title of an entire subsection, "Die Wurzel meines Herzens."⁶ The hilarious and breath-taking details of Gabrielle's journey (from "le carrossier estant descendu pour faire de l'eau" to "un des mulets . . . se mist a braire plus effroyablement que ne fit jamais l'asne de Silene au val de Bathos"), finally, are derived from Sully's *Oeconomies*.⁷ This, then, is the raw material out of which Heinrich Mann has fashioned his novel.

In many instances, the poet and the historian will find it necessary to suspend judgment, so as not to misconstrue the ambiguous causal nexus

² Among the main sources are the *Recueil des Lettres Missives de Henri IV*, ed. Berger de Xivrey (Paris, 1843 ff.) and the *Mémoires des sages et royales oeconomies d'estat, domestiques, politiques et militaires de Henry le Grand* by the Duc de Sully. Also of importance are the memoirs of Marguerite de Valois and Madame Duplessis-Mornay.

³ In the following, I shall quote from Heinrich Mann, *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben*, ed. Alfred Kantorowicz (Berlin, 1951 ff.): *Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre* (I) and *Die Vollendung des Königs Henri Quatre* (II).

⁴ The letter, dating from spring, 1572, is reproduced in *Recueil*, I, 32 f. The German translation of the passage quoted in the text appears in I, 95 of Heinrich Mann's novel.

⁵ Henri's letter, dated June 17, 1586, appears in *Recueil*, II, 224 f. Reference to it is made in I, 586 of the novel.

⁶ See Henri's letter of April 15, 1599 to his sister Catherine (*Recueil* V, 110 f.). The title appears in II, 620 of the novel.

⁷ II, 421 ff. of the *Oeconomies*, as edited by M. Petitot in *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France depuis l'avènement de Henri IV jusqu'à la paix de Paris, conclue en 1763* (Paris, 1854 ff.). It appears in II, 146 of the novel.

of events. A disciple of Montaigne, Heinrich Mann shares Goethe's opinion: "Aber nicht alles ist wirklich geschehen, was uns als Geschichte dargeboten wird, und was wirklich geschehen, das ist nicht so geschehen, wie es dargeboten wird, und was so geschehen ist, das ist nur ein Geringes von dem, was überhaupt geschehen ist."⁸ By refusing to commit himself, however, the novelist increases the element of suspense and invites the reader to form his own opinion. Thus we are left in doubt as to the real cause, or author, of Jeanne d'Albret's death. However, since the reader has already been familiarized with the image of Catherine de Médicis as an adept in the art of mixing poison, her complicity is strongly suggested. This impression is heightened by the way in which the two physicians diagnose the symptoms of Jeanne's disease in Henri's presence (I.144 ff.).

A similar uncertainty prevails in the case of Henri III's madness (II. 289); for it remains doubtful whether the king's insanity is merely contrived to relieve him of his responsibility in the massacre of the Huguenots or whether it is a genuine mental affliction. Most readers will be inclined to think that it is both, and that, once put on, the mask has merged with the face behind it—much as person and *persona* coalesce in the plays of Luigi Pirandello.

2.

The crucial moment in a given historical novel is that in which the author undertakes to fix guilt and responsibility; for it is then that he is most likely to reveal his personal bias. Being an apology for humanism, *Henri Quatre*, too, is not wholly devoid of the polemic element. The fiction of the historical novel (the "suspension of disbelief" which a work of art requires), however, can be maintained only if the polemic is confined within the limits of the aesthetic *Gestalt*. Unfortunately, Heinrich Mann is not above projecting his own dilemma into a different historical context.⁹ Humanly speaking, this is more than pardonable in an artist who has just escaped the totalitarian machinery of Nazi Germany; aesthetically speaking, such anachronisms threaten to violate the integrity of *Henri Quatre*.

In many ways, then, the Henri Quatre of the novel is an idealized portrait of Heinrich Mann, its creator. Most of the passages which confirm this intimate relationship of author and hero occur in the first part of the novel, where young Henri is still uncertain of his political mission. For the fugitive escaping from the Louvre, La Rochelle is "eine Stadt des Wohlwollens und der Sicherheit," just as the Paris of 1933 was to be for the German writer. French is "die Sprache seiner Wahl," and so it is Heinrich Mann's, as witnessed by the *moralités* which appear at

⁸ Quoted from Goethe's conversation with Luden of August 19, 1806.

⁹ Relevant passages can be found on pp. 164, 208 f., 436, 490 f. of *Ein Zeitalter wird besichtigt*.

the end of each chapter in *Die Jugend des Königs Henri Quatre*. And it is with a view to his own development as a writer and man that Heinrich Mann informs us "daß Henri ein um so besserer Schriftsteller wurde, je größer er zu handeln lernte; das eine um des anderen willen, und weil klarer Ausdruck durch dieselbe Seele geschieht wie echte Tat" (I.553). "Geist und Tat," we recall, is the title of one of Heinrich Mann's most famous essays.

More objectionable from the artistic point of view are the political parallels which Heinrich Mann draws between the notorious *Ligue* and Adolf Hitler's Storm Troops. How familiar to the German ear are the exhortations given by the Duke of Guise to his followers: "Tu Arbeitsdienst und leist ihm Deine Wehrpflicht! Zahl ihm Abgaben, sei tagelang auf den Beinen trotz Deinen Krampfadern, bei allen Kundgebungen der Partei, sooft er ihre Massen aufruft" (I.581)! Elsewhere in the novel, the Duc de Biron is described as a "kerniger Marschall," and the leaders of the *Ligue* as its "Gau-leiter."

Leaving aside these false analogies, Heinrich Mann may justly be accused of oversimplifying some of the political issues at stake between the various opposing factions. Fortunately, however, the author's tendency toward painting in black and white is restricted to his treatment of groups and parties and does not apply to his method of character presentation. He is strongly opposed to the Catholic hierarchy and its secular arms, the German Emperor and the King of Spain. There are no limits to his hatred of the *Ligue* and the Jesuits, two organizations he regards as stumbling blocks in the path of France's unification. In condemning the activities of these organizations, he goes so far as to make us believe that they had their hand in every plot against the king's life and every attempted assassination. Mockingly he shows how the Jesuits' assertion that God would render the assassin invisible is disproved by the violent death of many a would-be murderer. In defense of Heinrich Mann's attitude it must be said, however, that he looked at these things with the eyes of the historical Henri Quatre, who was strongly inclined to believe that "tous ces empoisonneurs sont papistes."¹⁰

With equal candor Heinrich Mann speaks out against the fanaticism of Jeanne d'Albret and Philippe de Mornay, the spiritual leaders of Henri's own party; for whatever is extreme, unbending, and impervious draws his critical fire. Nor is Henri himself spared the most scathing criticism with regard to his emotional instability and his lack of political acumen. Yet for all his shortcomings he remains the hero of the novel and a true humanist "weil sein Herz einfach war, und nur sein Verstand war's nicht" (I.478). He is a tragic figure, not so much on account of this conflict within himself as because of the historical circumstances; and as he is caught between the contending parties of the Valois, the

¹⁰ See Henri's letter to Madame de Gramont, dated March 13, 1588 (*Recueil*, II. 346).

Guisse, and the Medici, so the age in which he lives is suspended between the Renaissance and the Baroque. He himself is the first to realize that what he accomplishes is bound to be provisional: "Er allein hat damals . . . die Unverlässlichkeit seines gesamten Bestandes erfaßt, das Vorläufige, sein eignes Dasein, während er es noch durchbringt — und über ihn hinaus rechnen Narren" (II. 695).

Henri's failure to change the course of history by forestalling the Counter-Reformation notwithstanding, nothing is lost — and much gained — for history in the long run. For his vision of tolerance has firmly imprinted itself upon the mind of posterity. This vision, derived as it is from Henri's belief in reason and common sense as the most reliable guides in human affairs, is tempered by a wholesome skepticism such as is expressed in Montaigne's *Que sais-je?* Being at war with fanaticism in all its forms and disguises, skepticism helps to undermine religious and political intolerance. It is thus that Henri can change his religion without losing our sympathy. A Huguenot at heart, he realizes that — as Goethe was later to put it — it is more important to know that a man believes than what he is believing. Politically, Henri's ardent nationalism is wisely limited by his acknowledgment of the right of other nations to be equally patriotic. Hence the idea of a community of nations (a sixteenth-century *Völkerbund*), which Heinrich Mann ascribes to Henri himself, while the historians agree that it was originally developed by Sully.

Tolerance, if it wants to remain the guiding principle of political conduct, must be capable of suppressing the forces of intolerance. Non-militant humanism, that is to say, cannot hope to survive a crisis; and although Henri would much prefer to use peaceful means of reformation, he knows from experience that in this way the individual can do nothing against the masses. The masses learn the meaning of tolerance only when they are defeated. Yet for the individuals who form the mass this abrupt transition is not without danger: "Mehrere Wütende verunglückten tödlich an dieser Stelle infolge ihres zu schnellen Übertrittes vom Wahnsinn zur Vernunft" (II.270).

3.

The historical aspect of Heinrich Mann's novel, as it was touched upon in the preceding section, must not be understood to take precedence over its aesthetic *Gestalt*, which will be discussed in the remaining portion of this essay. As a historical novel, *Henri Quatre* is realistic insofar as it is concerned with established facts and their explanation in the light of their effects and causes. It is symbolic in that the author has striven to endow these facts with a meaning beyond that which is contained in the single event. This does not mean, however, that any of the characters have been transformed into allegories or otherwise deprived of their unique personalities. Heinrich Mann's technique of character pres-

entation is based on his refusal to regard man as a creature whose thoughts, feelings, and actions are guided by an inherent logic. It has much in common with that of the Expressionistic writers. In drama and poetry – but rarely in the novel – the Expressionists favor an approach that emphasizes the discontinuity of thought processes. And while occasionally – as with Bertolt Brecht – this technique was put into the service of the political class struggle, with Heinrich Mann it becomes the structural correlate of the irrational in human psychology.

It is only consistent with the Expressionistic philosophy of art when, in *Henri Quatre*, the sublime is married to the ridiculous, and the dramatic to the grotesque. Heinrich Mann is particularly fond of having a moment of tragic grandeur followed by a comic anticlimax, and of treating intrigue and treason in the manner of a fairy tale. Hidden in the fire-place of the hall in which Catherine de Médicis meets the Duke of Alba, young Henri of Navarre comments as follows on their departure: "Die alte Königin erhob sich schwer, er [Alba] reichte ihr die Fingerspitzen und führte sie zur Tür; er stelte, sie watschelte" (I.52). Having sought refuge in Bordeaux, where the great Montaigne is Mayor, Henri III interrupts a conversation with his cousin and heir to the throne by exclaiming: "Es ist nicht auszuhalten, daß Sie einmal auf der Tischkante sitzen und gleich darauf am Ende des Zimmers ein Buch aus der Reihe ziehen. Ich hasse Bewegung, sie stört die Linien" (I.595). The physically as well as psychologically gruesome details of another scene, finally, are absurdly heightened when Catherine de Médicis is characterized as one who fingers Henri "aus lauter Wohlwollen wie einen künftigen Braten" (I. 348).

Heinrich Mann's flair for asymmetry is especially obvious in the overall structure of his novel. The two parts of *Henri Quatre* concern unequal halves of the hero's life story, since the first one takes us from Henri's birth to his accession to the French crown (1553-1589), while the second is devoted to the twenty-one years of his reign. The first volume traces a downward curve which, in its irregularity and its constant change of direction, shows Henri to be lost in the tangle of life and as yet incapable of sustained action. In the second volume, the graphic image is that of a similarly irregular upward curve, which often reaches a point of standstill and finally breaks with a sudden snap in the midst of a promising development. Taken together, these curves resemble the outline of a symphony with its themes, its variations, its climaxes, and its repetitions.

The subdivision of each volume into chapters and sections, too, is markedly irrational; for the action as a whole progresses by contrasts rather than by a slow but regular accumulation of dramatic force. Only once this technique is abandoned, when a triad of sections entitled "Die Größe von innen," "Die Größe, wie sie umgeht" and "Die Größe, wie sie dasteht" is juxtaposed with another triad superscribed "Gabriele, um

ihr Leben," "Gabriele, um ihr armes Leben" and "Gabriele aufgegeben." It is in this way that Gabrielle's fate is given the singular distinction which it has in Henri's existence.

Nor can the sections themselves be regarded as distinct narrative units. A great many of them are unevenly divided into portions that may, or may not, possess a common denominator. The section "Ein Ritterroman," for instance, which deals with the decisive battle of Ivry, contains elements of both tragedy and farce, with the transition from one to the other occurring abruptly in the middle of a paragraph (II.35). The section entitled "Lauern," on the other hand, has the form of Hector Berlioz' tone poems, in which a main theme functions as an ever-recurring leitmotif (I.257). Other sections, in departing from the level of straightforward narrative, undergo a lyrical transformation that raises them to the high pitch of the dithyramb.

A similar predilection for asymmetry can be detected in the smallest syntactical units. For even within the sentence we find that the anticlimax is used to indicate a change in the stylistic level: "Madame Catherine saß da . . . als wenn man sie niemals gebeten hätte, nach Florenz abreisen zu dürfen — wo man sie einst hinausgeworfen hatte" (I.233) has its equivalent in the following statement regarding Corisande's influence upon Henri: "Sie hatte ihn Achtung gelehrt und eine früher unbekannte Veredelung von Gefühlen — die im übrigen sich gleich blieben" (I.585).

Very characteristic of the style of *Henri Quatre* is also Heinrich Mann's habit of changing construction — as in the sentence "Nun sind Mörderhöhlen spaßig, und sowohl über den Soldaten, der mit dem Bauch redet, und nach vollbrachter Tat hofft er unsichtbar zu werden, wie auch über den Wirt kann man allenfalls lachen" (II.234) — and his insistence on telescoping several sentences into one: "Den Possen spielen die Herren vor Zuschauern, die lauter verhungertes Volk sind, und wohler wäre ihnen, ihr echter König verteilte unter sie das Brot des Landes, wie gern arbeiteten sie dafür" (II.122).

4.

Stylistically, our novel is remarkable in that different approaches to language are meant to signify different levels of experience. It has frequently been observed that whereas Thomas Mann's affinity to music — *vide* his infatuation with Wagner's *Tristan* — makes itself felt in many of his works, Heinrich Mann was naturally drawn to the art of painting.¹¹ Indeed, few modern authors surpass him in the ability to use landscapes as mood-creating elements, and to transform grim reality into timeless beauty. While besieging the castle of Charbonnières in the mountains of Savoy, Henri is suddenly moved by the pristine beauty of an autumn morning: "Übrigens betrachtete der König das Gebirge klar wie Glas,

¹¹ See Herbert Ihering, *Heinrich Mann* (Berlin, 1952), p. 13 f. In his autobiography *Wir waren fünf*, Viktor Mann says of his brother that "er in seiner Jugend noch zwischen Malerei und Literatur schwankte."

die kahlen Gipfel, die kalten flüchtigen Farben, die der frühe Herbst entlang den fernen Schroffen und Zacken legte. Der Himmel schwebte auf den Schneefeldern blau und leer" (II.637).

In striking contrast with this delicate handling of impressions is Heinrich Mann's bold realism and his repeated use of literary caricature. The realism is enhanced by his theatrical instinct, which enables him to describe a scene plastically and as if it were enacted before the reader's eyes. *Henri Quatre* abounds with descriptions of royal festivals, court ceremonies, battles, and elaborate intrigues, in which a definite part is assigned to every participant. In the world to which Heinrich Mann introduces us in his novel, everybody is an actor, *totus mundus exercet histrionem*.

However, since the author's attitude toward most of his characters is critical rather than wholly sympathetic, the superrealism of his narrative is intended to produce an ironical effect upon the audience; and the greater the detachment, the stronger is the irony which expresses it. At times, Heinrich Mann indulges in a vitriolic, Rabelaisian kind of satire. Thus he describes Marie de Médicis' submission to Henri as a ruse designed to make him all the more submissive:

Da das Verlangen schön macht, werden hier Schönheiten angeboten, man muß sie nur verstehen. Der Kopf ist nach hinten über das Polster geschoben, was erstens das Opfer der Hingabe vortäuschte: eine keusche Dame will lieber nicht wissen, wie es weiterhin zugeht. (II.672)

Overstatements of this caliber are effectively matched by similarly striking understatements, such as the description of crime and terrorism in terms of a normal business transaction. Here is an "eyewitness" report of the night of St. Bartholomew (*italics by the present author*):

Ihr Geschäft war überall das gleiche: töten und sterben; und es geschah mit der höchsten *Emsigkeit*, dem Schwung der Glocken vergleichbar und angepaßt dem Takt des Mordgeschreis. *Pünktliche* Arbeit, und dennoch wieviel Abwechslung und Eigenheit. Ein Kriegsknecht schleifte einen alten Mann *ordentlich* an die Leine gebunden . . . Ein Bürger erschlug einen anderen mit *Sorgfalt* und *Genauigkeit*. (I. 301)

Perhaps more than others the Expressionists have made use of representation by contrast. In Stravinsky's *Petrouschka*, the musical continuity is persistently disrupted by a change of rhythm, a device that cuts deeply into the flesh of conventional musicmaking. In Expressionistic painting, the colors are glaringly nonrealistic, and the living organism is reduced to an abstract configuration. In literature (especially in the drama), discontinuity serves to point out the flaws inherent in a given action. It is the basic principle behind those *Verfremdungseffekte* (effects of alienation) which Brecht enumerates in his non-Aristotelian Poetics.¹²

¹² Bertolt Brecht's "Kleines Organon für das Theater" was first published in *Sinn und Form: Sonderheft Bertolt Brecht* (Berlin, 1949). Section 67 reads as

In Heinrich Mann's *Henri Quatre*, where alienation is used as a means of intensifying the emotions rather than neutralizing their effect, one encounters numerous examples of this technique. On a small scale, the author's striving for artistic economy results in the frequent use of anachronisms or in the transplantation of a word from one social stratum to another. On his way to England, de Mornay thinks of the many friends who are "abhanden gekommen," a term commonly used in connection with inanimate objects rather than human beings (II.161). Elizabeth's favorite, the unfortunate Essex, would hardly seem to deserve the colloquial epithet "schlaksig" (II.169). Gabrielle d'Estrées, finally, is put to shame by a plain-spoken ferryman, when he characterizes her erotic vagaries by the vulgarism "Sie soll aber richtig fremd gehen" (II.567).

The written titles which Brecht introduces before each musical number of his *Dreigroschenoper* have their equivalent in the strategically placed maxims, quotations, and proverbs of Heinrich Mann's novel, not to mention the section headings which, in themselves, form a running commentary to the narrative. Of particular interest in this connection are the three leitmotifs or mottoes which accentuate certain aspects of the action. They are the above-mentioned *totus mundus exercet histrionem* of Henri's formative years, the maturing humanist's *nihil tam popolare quam bonitas*, and the skeptic's *Que sais-je?*, all of which suggest the growing influence of Montaigne's philosophy upon the hero of our novel.

The *moralités* and the concluding *allocution*, both written in French and thereby set apart from the rest of the novel, further confirm Heinrich Mann's intention to operate on several levels of consciousness. The *moralités* take the form of succinct summaries of each phase in Henri's life. In them, the criticism that is inherent in the narrative itself is made fully explicit. The *allocution*, on the other hand, is delivered by the deceased king "du haut d'un nuage qui le démasque pendant l'espace d'un éclair, puis se referme sur lui." In it, history is transfigured into a Baroque vision *sub specie aeternitatis*, which is stylistically related to certain speeches in Claudel's *Le Soulier de Satin*. It is the fitting conclusion of an epic which, firmly anchored as it may be in the world of historical reality, frequently opens the view into the realm of the symbolic.

5.

Reaffirming the Expressionistic belief in the irrational, the author of *Henri Quatre* refuses to provide labels for his characters. Arguing

follows: "Da das Publikum ja nicht eingeladen werde, sich in die Fabel wie in einen Fluß zu werfen, um sich hierhin und dorthin unbestimmt treiben zu lassen, müssen die einzelnen Geschehnisse so verknüpft sein, daß die Knoten auffällig werden. Die Geschehnisse dürfen sich nicht unmerklich folgen, sondern man muß mit dem Urteil dazwischenkommen können. . . . Die Teile der Fabel sind also sorgfältig gegeneinander zu setzen, indem ihnen ihre eigene Struktur, eines Stückchens im Stück, gegeben wird."

that character is a precarious state of equilibrium among contradictory elements—an equilibrium as easily destroyed as hard to establish—he feels that no accurate predictions can be made as to an individual's future course of action. He further assumes that what are usually called the motivations of an act are nothing but *a posteriori* rationalizations of spontaneous reactions. And although he admits that there must be a hard core of character that remains immutable (Henri being essentially good, Catherine de Médicis essentially evil, etc.), he portrays each act as if it were an epiphany.

Take M. de Liancourt, for instance, and his puzzling reaction to the marriage proposal made to him by Gabrielle's father. Knowing full well that this marriage is to serve as a cloak for the king's affair with Gabrielle, and that it will never be consummated, he hesitates to accept the offer:

Mehr Umstände machte Herrn d'Estrées sein Schwiegersohn, der, schüchtern von Natur, nur mit Schrecken daran dachte, dem König eine noch ganz neue Eroberung streitig zu machen. Dies abgerechnet, wäre Fräulein d'Estrées ihm auf alle Fälle zu schön gewesen. Er beehrte sie zu heftig, was zusammen mit seiner Schüchternheit auf Enttäuschungen hinauslaufen mußte. Er kannte sich, obwohl andererseits gerade die schwache Ansicht, die er von sich hatte, ihm ein Gefühl der geistigen Überlegenheit eingab. (II.127)

Considering the complexity of the human mind, as it appears on almost every page of *Henri Quatre*, the reader must expect to see a character's point of view change radically within mere fractions of a second. Thus it may happen that the better self emerges against a person's will when the rational powers are paralyzed. Marguerite de Valois suddenly finds herself warning Henri's mother of the impending massacre; but in the next moment—realizing that she has shifted her loyalty from one party to the other—she recoils from her own goodness. The irony of this situation is increased when we are told that Jeanne d'Albret has mistaken Marguerite's honesty for hypocrisy: "Eigensinn und Unglauben waren alles, was Margot in ihrem ehrlichsten Augenblick bei Jeanne fand" (I.100). And as the truth occasionally speaks through the mouth of the liar, so the lie may sound more convincing when divulged by the innocent. When the Count of Nassau is tricked into believing that Elizabeth has condescended to marry young Henri of Navarre, Henri's mother has to trick him into betraying the source of this misleading information (I.82).

In the wider historical context, where every move affects the shaping of destiny, the reversal of cause and effect has even more serious consequences. The use of political propaganda is justified in D'Épernon's cynical maxim: "Ereignisse die nicht prophezeit wären, blieben fragwürdig. Ihr Eintritt ist aber gesichert, sobald man an sie glaubt" (II.844). Here is one of the causes operative in Henri's downfall, at least insofar as its reflection in the novel is concerned. Seen from the tail end of

history, a similar ambiguity prevails and helps to soften the sharp outlines of responsibility; in other words, it facilitates the forging of history. Belittling his share in Gabrielle's death, Henri's confessor rewrites his own biography: "Später, nach den Ereignissen, wird er so lange wie möglich sein Gewissen beschwichtigen und sein verhängnisvolles Auftreten für unbeeinflusst ansehen" (II.592). Nor is this the only instance of the reinterpretation of historical events *ex post facto*.

The irrational approach to character analysis in *Henri Quatre* is supplemented by Heinrich Mann's expressed belief in the psychosomatic nature of mental phenomena:

Bei Henri war der Antrieb zum Denken ein Gefühl; es ging aus von der Mitte des Körpers, aber mit äußerster Schnelligkeit erreichte es die Kehle, die sich krampfte, und die Augen; sie wurden feucht. Solange dies Gefühl in ihm aufstieg, begriff der junge Henri das Unendliche und die Vergewissung alles dessen, was enden muß. (I.357)

This striking example of a "sinnlich-sittliche Wechselwirkung" has a parallel in the symbolic function which Heinrich Mann assigns to disease and bodily afflictions. Henri's illnesses often signify a spiritual crisis; they are "ein Zeugnis, das der Körper dem Geist ausstellt über eine neue Wende und Schicksalsstunde" (II.319). Inversely, treason is regarded as a disease that can be cured rather than a crime that must be punished. Hence Henri's reluctance to permit the execution of Marshall Biron, who has plotted with his enemies.

Disease being a condition in which the human animal is at its most *kreierlich*, it is here that the differences of age, rank, and condition are most easily forgotten. The sick man is thrown back upon himself. Accordingly, Heinrich Mann likes to observe his characters in the moment of their greatest weakness: Henri swayed by physical desire, Henri exhausted after a night of lovemaking, Marguerite de Valois covered with the blood of the Huguenots she has protected with her own body. By tearing off the official mask, he reveals human greatness or failure. Greatness, however, is not necessarily the result of courage, patience, and magnanimity; among its ingredients there is much that is touching or even questionable:

Freiheit, Nation, Frieden, diese drei zu erkämpfen ist die Größe, von vorn gesehen. Gabriele hatte von ihrem großen Mann nicht nur die Front und stolze Erscheinung. In seinem Innern entdeckte sie das Rührende, das Fragwürdige — glaubte aber deswegen keineswegs, sie wäre der Größe hinter ihre Schliche gekommen (II.497).

Since Henri does not really learn from experience — the ability to forget the tragic circumstances which accompanied his rise to power being more deeply ingrained in him than his will to remember — Heinrich Mann's novel cannot be regarded as a *Bildungsroman* in the strict sense of the word. It is not concerned with the education of an individual

(or, at least, not exclusively so), but with the education of mankind as a whole in the tradition of humanism. It is a political novel only insofar as it transcends the idea of party politics by advocating a form of government that is based on the principle of tolerance. This is what Heinrich Mann has in mind when, on a different occasion, he defines literature as "eine Form des schöpferischen Geistes schlechthin, [die] vom Allgemeinen herkommt und das unzulängliche Besondere im Grunde nur benutzt wie ein Gleichnis und Gegenbeispiel zum unbedingten Allgemeinen."¹³

¹³ See his essay "Dichtkunst und Politik" in XI, 319 of the *Ausgewählte Werke in Einzelausgaben*.



CHARLOTTE, GOETHE, AND FREIHERR VON STEIN

KENNETH KEETON
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Opinion of Freiherr von Stein, if any, has been one of condemnation, contempt, or deliberate disregard since the details of Goethe's affair with Charlotte became known with the publication of Goethe's letters to Charlotte. The documented facts and proffered opinions concerning this man are fascinating and revealing.¹ Ernest Seillière, in his work on Charlotte and Goethe, states that Stein was probably considered "either a ridiculous fool or a highly obliging husband" (p. 57). Certainly such a statement warrants investigation; particularly since von Stein figures in one of the most intriguing and vexing episodes in German literature — a triangular affair lasting more than ten years without scandal and with the apparent blessing of the slighted husband.

Gottlob Ernst Josias Friedrich von Stein was born March 15, 1735, at Regensburg, where his father was an imperial envoy to the *Reichsversammlung*. Concerning his education, we know only that he attended the *Gymnasium* at Koburg and then studied at Jena (Bode, p. 40). In 1764, at the age of twenty-nine, von Stein married Charlotte von Schardt, who was seven years younger than he. At the time, it seemed that Charlotte had made a wise choice or rather, that Duchess Amalie had chosen well, since it is believed that she arranged the marriage (Crawford, p. 171) — the von Steins had been members of the nobility much longer than the von Schardts. Charlotte's husband was moderately wealthy, deriving his income from his estate at Kochberg near Weimar. He was, in addition, attractive physically, a well-built, handsome man who would have been acceptable at any court; he spoke French fluently, was an excellent musician, a good dancer, and on occasion acted in the court theatre (Seillière, p. 58). In fact, there is reason to believe that Goethe used him in his production of *Die Mitschuldigen*. In a letter to Charlotte, dated January 15, 1781, Goethe wrote: "Bitten Sie doch Steinen daß er sie liest, und sich entschliest den Wirth zu machen. Er wird ihn gewiß recht hübsch spielen" (Petersen, Briefe, II, 3). Primarily, however, von Stein excelled as a sportsman, hunter, and connoisseur of horses. In this respect fortune smiled upon him: when the young Duke Karl August came of age in 1775, he chose von Stein as his *Oberstallmeister*.

Seillière and Bode differ as to why the young Duke selected him, and both may be justified in raising the question. On the other hand it

¹Reference is made in the body of this paper to the following works: Wilhelm Bode, *Charlotte von Stein* (Berlin, 1920). Mary Caroline Crawford, *Goethe and his Women Friends* (Boston, 1911). Heinrich Düntzer, *Charlotte von Stein*, Bd. I (Stuttgart, 1874). Hermann Grimm, *The Life and Times of Goethe*, translated by Sarah Holland Adams, 2nd. ed. (Boston, 1881). Klara Hofer, *Goethes Ehe* (Stuttgart, 1920). *Goethes Briefe an Charlotte von Stein*, hrsg. von Julius Petersen, 3 Bde. (Leipzig, 1907). Ernest Seillière, *Charlotte von Stein und Goethe*, translated by Lydia Jacobs (Berlin, 1914). Lena Voss, *Goethes unsterbliche Freundin* (Leipzig, 1921).

is obvious, to me, that the recommendation of his mother accounts, in the main, for the Duke's appointment of von Stein to the position of equerry (Bode, p. 64). Von Stein was — and this is what makes his appointment at this time a bit odd — much older than the young Duke's boisterous followers. Goethe, one of the latter, was aware of the fact that von Stein as well as other older members of the court disapproved of the group around the Duke, and of him, Goethe, in particular. We learn this from a letter written by Goethe to his mother in 1776: "Der Oberstallmeister von Stein geht ehestens durch Frankfurt. Er ist ein braver Mann, den Ihr wohl empfangen mögt; nur muß man über meinen hiesigen Zustand nicht allzu entzückt erscheinen. Ferner ist er nicht ganz mit dem Herzog zufrieden, wie fast all der Hof, weil er ihnen nicht nach der Pfeife tanzt, und mir wird heimlich und öffentlich die Schuld gegeben" (Seillière, p. 58). A passage in a letter of von Stein to Frau von Döring at Hanover shows that Goethe had interpreted correctly the attitude of the older generation. The pertinent paragraph reads: "Goethe verursacht hier einen großen Umsturz; wenn er auch wieder Ordnung machen kann, um so besser für sein Genie! Sicherlich ist seine Meinung gut, aber zu große Jugend und zu geringe Erfahrung — doch warten wir das Ende ab! All unser Glück ist von uns gewichen, unser Hof ist nicht mehr, was er war" (Bode, p. 113). J. G. Zimmermann, author of the very popular eighteenth century work *Betrachtungen über die Einsamkeit* (1756), read the letter at the home of Frau von Döring and later warned Goethe of the folly of his ways.

In spite of the blessing of the ducal family and the apparent good fortune of both Freiherr von Stein and Charlotte, their marriage was never a success in any sense of the word. In the first nine years Charlotte gave birth to seven children — four girls and three boys. The girls died while yet infants; one of the boys, Ernst, was sickly all his short life. It had been the custom in the von Stein family to give all children the first name of Gottlob, girls as well as boys: Freiherr von Stein retained this pious custom. It is said that Charlotte, who had a strict religious upbringing, became somewhat cynical after the birth of the seventh child and reacted quite differently from what the name Gottlob implies (Bode, p. 50).

After her health was virtually ruined by the rapid succession of pregnancies and confinements, Charlotte refused to have further sexual relations with her husband (Voss, p. 18). This merely convinced Stein of her frigidity. Since he, a physically attractive man and adept in manly arts, no longer aroused passion in his wife, she had to be cold. His masculine vanity blinded him to the fact that the fault might be his (Hofer, p. 96).

Von Stein's relationship with his wife may have deteriorated from this time on. His relationship with his surviving children was not impaired. He was a good father and loved his three sons with equal tender-

ness. The same cannot be said of Charlotte as a mother. There is no evidence that von Stein was ever anything but kind and genuinely concerned for the welfare of his sons. After Karl von Stein, the oldest son, came of age, he often mentioned the generosity of his father. In his letters he tells of the complete unselfishness of von Stein in the paying of household expenses. He never complained, and only a small portion of his salary was reserved for his own use (Seillière, p. 59). This same Karl had been expelled from the university because of his behavior. He had contracted debts, deceived his patron, the Crown Prince of Braunschweig, without one word of reproach from his father. Von Stein finally prevailed upon Goethe to write a letter of reproach in his name.

The marriage was a failure long before Goethe arrived in Weimar in 1775. There are a number of discernible reasons. Perhaps equal to von Stein's thoughtlessness and a growing mental affliction was the lack of compatibility between husband and wife. The demands of von Stein's office kept him away from his "frigid" wife, thus making it easy for him to ignore her new attitude and for her to spend more time with Goethe. Even when in Weimar, von Stein was expected to eat at the court table. It is easy to imagine the unhappiness of Goethe and Charlotte when this custom was abolished in 1785 for the sake of economy (Petersen, I, XXXIV). Her husband's long and frequent absences had not been necessarily a cause of discontent.

Josias von Stein was, to use the one adjective most often applied to him by Goethe and others, "ein guter Mensch," but he had his faults, and Charlotte was unable to correct them or to accept them. In a letter to her sister-in-law, the wife of Ernst von Schardt, Charlotte once related that she had become lost while walking in the forest around Kochberg but did not tell her husband "um dessen clownschen Witz zu vermeiden," (Seillière, p. 59). And at his death she wrote quite frankly to her sons that she had had very few happy days with him, adding: "Ich habe mir auch in meiner Jugend ein phantastisches Bild gemacht wie ein Ehe-man ganz anders seyn müsse als ihn die Natur gemüthet hat und schwerlich geht ein Mann in alle unsere Leiden ein." Nothing that von Stein did seemed to please her. Particularly was she displeased with his management of Kochberg. His indulgence with his tenants, his methods of management caused her to remark: "Wie oft habe ich mich über des armen Stein unrichtigen Gang der Begriffe und Handlungen geärgert!" Yet in spite of Charlotte's outspoken comments, she had no occasion—at least not in her letters—to complain about mistreatment or even criticism on the part of her husband.

After Goethe became established in Weimar, his relationship with von Stein was one of apparent intimacy and mutual accord. Von Stein won Goethe's gratitude by naively aiding him to win the love of Charlotte. In fact, von Stein's cooperation in the affair reached such a point that Goethe, in his letters to Charlotte, often seemed to forget that the *Ober-*

stallmeister was Charlotte's husband. Goethe's attitude toward von Stein resembled that of a master toward a faithful and trusted servant. Several times von Stein acted as Goethe's messenger to Charlotte, often carrying highly confidential communications — some of which would probably have made von Stein forget his incredibly good nature. Yet Goethe, knowing the nature of the man and, I fear, taking advantage of it, knew his letters to be in safe hands.

Some of the letters were written in French to lessen the chance of their being read by others. One, dated August 29, 1784, reads: "Comme je destine cette lettre à être portée par Stein je puis parler un peu plus ouvertement" (Petersen II, 347). Another tells Charlotte about a theatre party to which Goethe has invited her and concludes with: "Ich hole dich ab. Stein kann zu uns kommen wenn das Spiel aus ist" (*ibid.*, 239). Perhaps better known is the letter in which Goethe, overcome with love, maintains they are virtually married and then, in the next sentence, thoughtfully writes: "Grüße Steinen" (*ibid.*, 63). As much as Goethe may have preferred to ignore Stein, he never did. It is not improbable that Goethe remained friendly with him because of a promise to Charlotte. In 1781 he wrote her: "Es wird mir recht natürlich Steinen gefällig zu seyn und ihm leben zu helfen" (*ibid.*, 89). If it is true that such a promise was exacted, it is also true that Goethe kept his promise. As von Stein's confidence in him grew and his mental affliction progressed — reference has been made to it before, and I shall return to it later — Goethe became the head of the von Stein household. He set the house in order, educated, disciplined, and worried about the children as any father would do (Petersen, I, XXVII).

It is, of course, extremely difficult to understand von Stein's attitude toward his wife's friendship with Goethe. To imagine a husband so blind or so egocentric is nearly impossible. Von Stein was obviously satisfied, even happy, with his life, but tragically, unforgivably blind to his wife's marital unhappiness and disillusionment. When the twenty-six year old Dr. Goethe became an ardent admirer of his wife, he considered it only a whim — an innocent attachment for one of the many "schöne Geister" at the court. Because of his youth and birth Goethe was quite harmless in von Stein's way of thinking; he humored their ethereal relationship because it was plainly beneficial to his frail wife. It must also be remembered that *Mimne*, if one interprets it as "tender friendship," was permitted between these men of *bel-esprit* and married ladies in Weimar society (Voss, p. 18). Von Stein's reason must also have told him, if he thought about the matter at all, that, after all, his wife was considerably older than young Goethe and was the mother of seven children; therefore he could trust her completely.

No matter how tolerant von Stein may have been in his attitude toward the affair between Charlotte and Goethe, there was one thing he would not permit: Goethe could not give Charlotte expensive gifts.

Small remembrances, yes, and perhaps articles for the kitchen — no one could possibly draw any unseemly conclusions from such trifles. The most expensive thing Goethe was ever allowed to give Charlotte was a modest desk and this seeming exception to his rule von Stein rationalized away: Goethe had drawn the plans for the desk and carefully watched over every detail of its construction for weeks; thus the desk was something Goethe had made himself and therefore was not objectionable (Hofer, p. 98 ff.).

At fifty-three von Stein was a broken man. He had been suffering severe headaches for years. The cause remained a mystery. There seemed to be pressure on his brain. Quite often his face was distorted with pain. Naturally rumors spread quickly around the small duchy and beyond. In the summer of 1788 Schiller made his significant remark about von Stein. Writing to Körner, who was planning to meet von Stein at Karlsbad, Schiller described him thus: "Er ist ein leeres Geschöpf, ein Kopfhänger dabei, und sein Verstand in täglicher Gefahr. Er ist, glaub' ich, schon einmal drum gewesen und wahrscheinlich wird er es wieder" (Bode, p. 346).

Karoline Herder, after a visit to the von Stein home, wrote her husband that von Stein looked like one who "die letzte Reise vor sich hat," and that he himself admitted it (Bode, p. 347). When she entered their home, he was putting his papers in final order. In Karoline's presence he told Charlotte that he was doing this so she would find everything in order after his death. It is significant to note that this was five years before his death took place — five interminable years for Charlotte, whose despair reached such depths that she longed for her own death. Added to her care of and worry for von Stein and her aged father was Goethe's avoidance of her. Probably the latter was hardest to bear. The father died in 1790 and her husband suffered another stroke. He was now so helpless physically and so depressed mentally that Charlotte could rarely leave him. On Christmas Day, 1793, he suffered a severe stroke and died the next day (Bode, p. 388).

An autopsy was performed and revealed that a small splinter from the skull had gradually penetrated the brain. Apparently the cause had been a fall in his youth. Charlotte, upon learning this, commented: "Es ist etwas, was mir nicht unerwartet kommt" (Seillière, p. 59). Later, perhaps after time for reflection, she seems to regret her impatience with him, realizing that not all his faults could be attributed to his character. "Wer kann wissen inwieweit des Menschen Handlung von ihm selbst abhängt?" she wrote. Then with an air of incredulity: "Wie man seinen Kopf öffnete, fand man einen Knochen, der ihm ins Gehirn gewachsen war!"

In retrospect, one can perchance see how great the odds against Charlotte and Goethe's extended affair were. Surely every aspect of von Stein's life was affected, to some degree, by the seemingly trivial accident

of his youth: the loose management of his estate, his laxity toward his sons, his marital relationship with Charlotte need to be re-examined in the light of his injury. Possibly his apparent indifference to what was common knowledge to everyone in the Weimar court — the Charlotte-Goethe affair — was but another manifestation of his affliction, whose chief symptom seems to have been an indifferent attitude toward life in general. Certainly as von Stein grew worse, his mental faculties became less acute. What seemed to be a lack of understanding and wit to Charlotte was, in all probability, von Stein's struggle to retain his mental equilibrium.

Yet Charlotte can be blamed only for lacking perception and understanding — that for which she condemned her husband. She acted in ignorance, believing her actions justified. It is to her credit that she refused to divorce von Stein even at Goethe's urging. Of the three people involved in the affair, which scholarship now concedes to be the foundation upon which Goethe perfected his genius, the greatest share of blame must rest upon the man who profited most. But Goethe was not one to sell his soul for a mess of pottage; quite the contrary. At the expense of both von Stein and Charlotte, Goethe gained some physical and mental titillation, full acceptance into Weimar society, and a sophisticated urbanity he had so greatly desired since his Leipzig school days. Rather than a taste of the forbidden fruit, Goethe was gluttonous. Within the ten-year period, there was ample time for remorse and repentance. None was forthcoming, as in the affair with Friederike.

Strange as it may seem, had von Stein not received an injury that was to shape not only the course of his life but that of his wife and Goethe, perhaps one of the most famous and controversial love affairs would never have sprung into existence and the world would be deprived of some of its greatest literature. Now one must add to the eternally raging conflict concerning Goethe's exact relationship to Charlotte, the equally puzzling question — do we owe the ten year affair between Charlotte and Goethe, with the resultant literary masterpieces, to a bone splinter in the head of Freiherr von Stein? It could well be.



NOVALIS' CHRISTIAN NAMES

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Novalis' correct full name was Georg *Friedrich* Philipp von Hardenberg. In this form it was recorded by his mother at his birth¹ and entered in the parochial register (Kirchenbuch) and in the university register (Matrikelbuch) at Wittenberg.²

The question arises why Novalis' name appears as "Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg" in such works as Rudolf Haym's *Die romantische Schule* (1870; 5th ed., 1928), *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, X (1879), *The Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards* (now *The National Union Catalog*), Wilhelm Kosch's *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon* (Bern, 1949 ff., 2nd ed.), and as "Friedrich Ludwig von Hardenberg" in the *British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books*. These conflicting names are traceable to several letters and album entries, dating from the years 1791-94, in which Novalis varied his Christian names by replacing some or all of them by Albert, Leopold, Ludwig, or Kurt. The significance of these variants is a matter for conjecture.³ Most of Novalis' extant letters and album entries bear the shortened signature "Friedrich von Hardenberg," with an occasional "Fritz" replacing the "Friedrich." The variants of this signature, including the few cases where he signed his full legal name, are listed below:

Variants ⁴ of Christian Names	Recipient of Letter	Date of Letter
Albert von Hardenberg	Friedrich Schlegel	End of March, 1793
Fritz Albert	Erasmus (Novalis' brother)	August, 1793
Fritz Albert	Erasmus (Novalis' brother)	September (?), 1793
F. L. Hardenberg	Friedrich Schlegel	August 1, 1794
Georg Friedrich von Hardenberg	Franz Paul Freiherr von Herbert (album entry)	April 4, 1791
Fritz von Hardenberg geb. v. K[ühn]	Erasmus	September 1, 1795
Friedrich Kurt von Hardenberg aus Sachsen	Karl Neuschiltdt (album entry)	Michaelmas, 1791

¹ Cf. Ernst Heilborn, *Novalis, der Romantiker* (Berlin, 1901), p. 2: "Den zweiten Mai 1772 machte uns Eltern Gott die Freude und schenkte uns einen Sohn, welcher in der Taufe den Namen bekam: Georg *Friedrich* Philipp von Hardenberg," mit diesen Worten verzeichnete die fromme Mutter die Geburt des Novalis." Cf. also Novalis' *Schriften* (Leipzig, 1929), ed. Kluckhohn & Samuel, p. 10*.

² J. M. Raich, editor, *Novalis' Briefwechsel mit Friedrich und August Wilhelm, Charlotte und Karoline Schlegel* (Mainz, 1880), p. 6.

³ As to "Albert," Raich suggests: "Sollte vielleicht Albert eine dem Briefempfänger bekannte Reminiszenz an Lottes gleichnamigen Bräutigam in 'Werthers Leiden' sein?"

⁴ All letters are quoted from vol. 4 of the Kluckhohn-Samuel edition.

Friedrich Ludwig von Hardenberg aus Sachsen	Friedrich Creuzer (album entry)	September 16, 1791
Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg	Karl Leonhard Reinhold	October 5, 1791
Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg	Schiller	October 7, 1791
Georg Philipp Friedrich von Hardenberg	Friedrich August III (Elector of Saxony)	April 10, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Friedrich August III (Elector of Saxony)	August 4, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Otto Ferdinand von Loeben	August 4, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Christoph Gottlob von Burgsdorff ⁵	August 4, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Friedrich Wilhelm von Ferber ⁵	August 4, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Georg Reinhard von Wallwitz ⁵	August 4, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Georg Ernst von Manteuffel ⁵	August 4, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Friedrich August III	August 27, 1800
Georg Friedrich Philipp von Hardenberg	Friedrich August III	September 28, 1800

That Novalis apparently did not intend to give up his legal name is indicated by the fact that he signed it in his letters to various dignitaries and officials in connection with his appointment as salt mine assessor during the last year of his life.

Haym's reference to Novalis as "Friedrich Leopold" seems to be chiefly responsible for the "Leopold" variants in the Novalis literature. The choice of this name is no doubt an accidental one out of several possible choices. We read on page 383 of *Die Romantische Schule* (5th ed.): "Drei Briefe aus der Zeit seines [Novalis'] Fortgangs von Jena sind uns erhalten, zwei an Schiller, der dritte an Reinhold." Two of these letters, which are identified by Haym in a footnote as that of October 5, 1791, to Reinhold and the one of October 7 of the same year to Schiller, are signed "Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg." The letters stood out by the importance of their recipients among the few letters that were available to Haym at the time when he was working on the first (and earlier subsequent) edition of his study of romanticism. Subsequent editions do not correct the names. The "Ludwig" variant, which occurs only once in Novalis' hitherto published letters, somehow found its way into the *British Museum Catalogue* (although it may be due to some other error). The dropping of "Georg" from all of Novalis' signatures except those in the few letters mentioned above and the one

⁵Novalis' signatures to these letters were supplied in square brackets by the editors.

in the album entry is explained by Kluckhohn (Novalis' *Schriften*, I, 10*) as follows: "Da ein jüngerer Bruder später den Rufnamen Georg erhielt, nannte sich Friedrich meist nur Philipp Friedrich oder Friedrich allein." The "Philipp Friedrich" does not occur as a signature in Novalis' published letters (except as part of "Georg Philipp Friedrich"). Kluckhohn probably obtained his information from the oral tradition of the Hardenberg family.

Most Novalis scholars, if they do not use Novalis' pen name, write his name in the short form "Friedrich von Hardenberg." Although most of the harm stemming from the confusion of Novalis' names cannot be undone, it is certainly high time to banish the "Leopold" and "Ludwig" ghosts from studies and reference works, since having to look up Novalis under four different names constantly confronts one with the problem of identification in source studies. But the ghosts are tenacious of life: "Friedrich Ludwig" in Henri Stierlein, *Novalis. Cinquième Hymne à la Nuit & Le château souterrain* (Paris, 1950), and "Novalis, eigentlich Friedrich Leopold" in the indexes⁶ to the first two volumes of Emil Staiger's study of Goethe (Zürich and Freiburg i. Br., 1952, 1956).

⁶ The indexes were not compiled by Staiger himself.



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Instr.: F. H. Bäuml, Ph. D.
Associate: Stephanie Lombardi, Ph. D.
Edith A. Schulz
Emeritus: F. H. Reinsch, Ph. D.
W. J. Mulloy, Ph. D.
Assistants: 17

Carleton College (Northfield, Minn.)

Prof.: Ida W. Blayney, Ph. D.
William Hammer,* Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Weaver M. Marr, Ph. D.
Instr.: Arnold D. Mendel
Emeritus: T. Lindsey Blayney, Ph. D.
Peter Oleson

Carnegie Inst. of Tech. (Pittsburgh 13, Pa.)

Prof.: Fred Genschmer,* Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Sara Elizabeth Piel, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Eugen L. Caliendo, Ph. D.
Emanuel Salgaller, Ph. D.
Emeritus: William F. Kamman, Ph. D.

Catholic Univ. (Washington 17, D. C.)

Asst. Prof.: Henry C. Sorg, Ph. D.
Instr.: Siegfried A. Schulz, Ph. D.

Univ. of Chicago (Chicago 37, Ill.)

Prof.: Gösta Franzen, Ph. D.
Helena M. Gamer, Ph. D.
O. J. M. Jolles, Ph. D.
George J. Metcalf,* Ph. D.
H. Stefan Schultz, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Viola Manderfeld
Asst. Prof.: Roger A. Nicholls, Ph. D.
Robert L. Hiller
(Cornell)
Kenneth J. Northcott
(Visiting from U. of
Sheffield, England)
Max Putzel
Instr.: Emmon Bach
Peter B. Gontrum, Ph. D.
Emeritus: Wolfgang Liepe, Ph. D.
Assistants: 4

Univ. of Cincinnati (Cincinnati 21, Ohio)

Prof.: G. F. Merkel, Ph. D.
E. H. Zeydel,* Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Anne F. Baeker, Ph. D.
Winifred Merkel
(Acting)

Rudolf A. Syring, Ph. D.
Instr.: Thomas Eshelman
(Acting)
Edward Eberhard
Emeritus:
Assistants: 1

Clark Univ. (Worcester, Mass.)

Prof.: Karl J. R. Arndt,* Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: J. Stanhope Edwards

Colby College (Waterville, Maine)

Prof.: John Franklin McCoy*
Assoc. Prof.: Philip Stewart Bither
Asst. Prof.: Henry Otto Schmidt

Colgate Univ. (Hamilton, N. Y.)

Prof.: Clifford E. Gates,* Ph. D.
Karl F. Koenig, Ph. D.
Glenn E. Waas, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: George J. Mundt, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Walter Gieseke

Colorado College (Colorado Springs)

Prof.: Thomas O. Brandt,* Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Margaret McKenzie, Ph. D.
Assistants: 2

Univ. of Colorado (Boulder)

Prof.: Gerhard Loose, Ph. D.
George A. C. Scherer, Ph. D.
Paul G. Schroeder, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Isaac Bacon, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Ulrich K. Goldsmith, Ph. D.
Assistants: 11

Columbia Univ. (New York 27, N. Y.)

Prof.: Carl F. Bayerschmidt,* Ph. D.
Benjamin Hunnigher, Ph. D.
William T. H. Jackson, Ph. D.
Walter Silz, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Andre von Gronicka, Ph. D.
Helen Mustard, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Inge D. Halpert, Ph. D.
Leif Sjöberg
Walter H. Sokel, Ph. D.
Louise Gode Stabenau
Instr.: Thomas Colby
Edmund P. Hecht
Ellin S. Feld
Stephen J. Kaplowitt
E. H. von Nardroff
Ernst Leo
Willy Schumann
Gertrud Sakrawa
Hugo Schmidt
Emeritus: Adriaan J. Barnouw, Ph. D.
Gottlieb A. Betz, Ph. D.
Frederick W. J. Heuser, Ph. D.
Henry H. L. Schulze, Ph. D.
Hugh W. Puckett, Ph. D.
Assistants: 12

Univ. of Connecticut (Storrs)

Assoc. Prof.: Hans A. Maier, Ph. D.
Wolfgang Paulsen, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Fritz Semmler, Ph. D.
Instr.: Hans W. Weber
Igor Zelljadt
(On leave)

Cornell Univ. (Ithaca, N. Y.)

Prof.: Eric A. Blackall,* Ph. D.
J. M. Cowan, Ph. D.
W. J. Moulton, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: A. G. de Capua, Ph. D.
H. L. Kufner, Ph. D.
Instr.: R. Nothmann
Emeritus: A. L. Andrews, Ph. D.
A. W. Boesche, Ph. D.
Assistants: 12

Dartmouth College (Hanover, N. H.)

Prof.: Frank G. Ryder, Ph. D.
Merle C. Cowden
James L. Scott
Stephan J. Schlossmacher, Ph. D.
Herbert R. Sensenig,* Ph. D.
Emeritus: Raymond W. Jones, Ph. D.

De Pauw Univ. (Greencastle, Indiana)

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Asst. Prof.: Margaret Baerg
Instr.: Erich Bauer
Susanne Jospe
(Indiana Univ.)
Emeritus: Gerhard Baerg, Ph. D.

Duke Univ. (Durham, N. C.)

Prof.: Herman Salinger,* Ph. D.
Lambert A. Shears, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: W. Cary Maxwell, Ph. D.
Frederick E. Wilson
Asst. Prof.: Wolfgang F. Taraba, Ph. D.
Richard K. Seymour, Ph. D.
(Princeton Univ.)
Instr.: Jens Brodersen
Emeritus: Clement Vollmer, Ph. D.
Charles A. Krummel, Ph. D.
Assistants: 1

Univ. of Florida (Gainesville)

Assoc. Prof.: O. F. Jones, Ph. D.
M. E. Valk, Ph. D.
M. O. Mauderli, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: J. E. Craps, Ph. D.

Franklin & Marshall College (Lancaster, Pa.)

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Assoc. Prof.: Paul P. Martin
Wolff von Wernsdorff
Asst. Prof.: Peter S. Seadle
Instr.: Irene P. Seadle

George Washington Univ. (Washington D. C.)

Assoc. Prof.: Gretchen L. Rogers, Ph. D.
Wolfram K. Legner,* Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: James C. King, Ph. D.
Emeritus: Edward H. Schrt, Ph. D.
Assistants: 1

Grinnell College (Grinnell, Iowa)

Prof.: F. W. Kaufmann
(Visiting, U. of Ill.)
Assoc. Prof.: F. Andrew Brown,* Ph. D.
Instr.: Dirk Baay
(On leave)
Edmund Heier
(Univ. of Michigan)
Emeritus: C. W. Perkins

Hamilton College (Clinton, N. Y.)

Prof.: Otto K. Liedke,* Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Robert M. Browning, Ph. D.

Harvard Univ. (Cambridge 38, Mass.)

Prof.: Stuart Atkins, Ph. D.
Bernhard Blume, Ph. D.
Henry C. Hatfield,* Ph. D.
Jack M. Stein, Ph. D.
(Columbia Univ.)
Lecturer: Reginald H. Phelps, Ph. D.
(On leave I)
H. Peter Wapnewski, Ph. D.
(Visiting I)
Catherine A. Galbraith
Asst. Prof.: Gerard F. Schmidt, Ph. D.
Egon Schwarz, Ph. D.
Instr.: Erika W. Davis, Ph. D.
Robert J. Kispert, Ph. D.
Kenneth G. Negus, Ph. D.
Lillian R. Atkins, Ph. D.
Emeritus: William G. Howard, Ph. D.
Heinrich Schneider, Ph. D.
Taylor Starck, Ph. D.
Assistants: 14

Haverford College (Haverford, Pa.)

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Asst. Prof.: John R. Cary, Ph. D.
Lecturer: Joachim Maass
Emeritus: John Alexander Kelly, Ph. D.
Assistants: 1

Hofstra College (Hempstead, N. Y.)

Prof.: Joseph G. Astman,* Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Frederick J. Churchill, Ph. D.
(Dep. Repres. for German)
Instr.: Valentine C. Hubbs
Mary Emery, Ph. D.
(Lakeland College)
Assistants: 1

Univ. of Houston (Houston 4, Texas)

Assoc. Prof.: Alfred R. Neumann,* Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Harry G. Haile, Ph. D.
Instr.: Jane W. Malin
Lecturer: Joanna Armstrong
Nan H. Siebert
Assistants: 2

Howard Univ. (Washington 1, D. C.)

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Wolfgang S. Seiferth, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Karl D. Darmstadter
Instr.: Maria P. Alter
Robert B. Lichtenstein, Ph. D.

Hunter College (New York 21, N. Y.)

Prof.: Carl Selmer, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Guenther Keil, Ph. D.
Edgar Hemminghaus, Ph. D.
(Dean of Students,
Hunter College, Bronx)
Asst. Prof.: Lena F. Dahme,* Ph. D.
S. Etta Schreiber, Ph. D.
Jean T. Wilde, Ph. D.
Edith Cappel, Ph. D.
(In office of Dean of Students,
Hunter College, Bronx)
Bertha M. Masche
Lecturer: Raisa S. Bakum
Instr.: Frederic P. Gutekunst
Eva C. Lange, Ph. D.
Emeritus: Anna Jacobson, Ph. D.
Lillie V. Hathaway, Ph. D.

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Ernst A. Philippson, Ph.D.
Henri Stegemeier, Ph.D.
Phillip M. Mitchell, Ph.D.
(Univ. of Kansas)
Assoc. Prof.: Mimi I. Jehle, Ph.D.
Francis J. Nock, Ph.D.
Frank G. Banta,* Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Pauline Steiner Schwalbe, Ph.D.
Instr.: James Engel, Ph.D.
Marvin Bragg
Burkhard Seubert
Emeritus: J. T. Geissendoerfer, Ph.D.
Charles A. Williams, Ph.D.
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Indiana Univ. (Bloomington)

Prof.: Norbert Fuerst, Ph.D.
Hans Jaeger, Ph.D.
H. J. Meessen,* Ph.D.
Harry V. Velten, Ph.D.
Frances H. Ellis, Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof.: Henry H. H. Remak, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Frederick J. Beharriell, Ph.D.
Grace N. Martin
Instr.: Foster W. Blaisdell, Ph.D.
Donald H. Crosby, Ph.D.
(National Security Agency)
Emeritus: E. O. Wooley, Ph.D.
Assistants: 12

Iowa State Univ. (Iowa City)

Prof.: Erich Funke,* Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof.: Herbert O. Lyte, Ph.D.
Fred L. Fehling, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Edgar List, Ph.D.
Milton Zagel, Ph.D.
Assistants: 10

Johns Hopkins Univ. (Baltimore 18, Md.)

Prof.: Harold Jantz,* Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof.: William H. McClain, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Joachim Bumke, Ph.D.
(Heidelberg)
Emeritus: Ernst Feise, Ph.D.
Assistants: 9

Univ. of Kansas (Lawrence)

Prof.: J. A. Burzle,* Ph.D.
(On leave)
Assoc. Prof.: George W. Kreye, Ph.D.
Sidney M. Johnson, Ph.D.
(Acting chairman)
Ian C. Loram, Ph.D.
(Cornell)
Asst. Prof.: Eugene Norwood, Ph.D.
Instr.: Samuel F. Anderson
Helga K. Vigliano
Helmut Hülsbergen, Ph.D.
(Köln)
Ingeborg Konschegg, Ph.D.
R. Johnson Watts
(U. of Wisconsin)
Assistants: 8

Kent State Univ. (Kent, Ohio)

Prof.: Adolf E. Schroeder,* Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof.: Walter L. DeVold, Ph.D.
Esther L. Grant, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Henry L. Tapp Ph.D.
Instr.: Joseph Suhadolc, Ph.D.
Assistants: 1

Univ. of Kentucky (Lexington)

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Paul K. Whitaker, Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof.: Norman H. Binger, Ph.D.
John H. Ubben, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: William R. Schmalstieg Ph.D.
Instr.: Calvin H. Evans
Assistants: 2

Lawrence College (Appleton, Wis.)

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Asst. Prof.: Dorrit Friedlander
Warren H. Caryl
Instr.: Marcel Muller
(U. of Wisconsin)
Emeritus: Gottlob C. Cast, Ph.D.

Lehigh Univ. (Bethlehem, Pa.)

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Ralph C. Wood, Ph.D.
(Muhlenberg College)
Asst. Prof.: Arthur P. Gardner, Ph.D.
(U. of Cal., Riverside)
Instr.: William V. Giebe
Richard A. Watt
(Univ. of Michigan)
Emeritus: Robert Pattison More

Louisiana State Univ. (Baton Rouge)

Prof.: John T. Krumpelmann, Ph.D.
Carl Hammer, Ph.D.
Instr.: Earl Nicholas Lewis, Ph.D.
Assistants: 2

Marquette Univ. (Milwaukee 3, Wis.)

Prof.: William Dehorn, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Robert E. Simmons, Ph.D.
Erwin R. Behrendt, Ph.D.
(Indiana Univ.)
Instr.: John Michalski
Jürgen Born
(Middlebury)

Marshall College (Huntington, W. Va.)

Assoc. Prof.: Julius Lieberman,* Ph.D.
Walter H. Perl, Ph.D.

Univ. of Maryland (College Park)

Prof.: Adolf E. Zucker,* Ph.D.
Augustus J. Prah, Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof.: Charles F. Kramer
Asst. Prof.: Eitel W. Dobert, Ph.D.
Christoph Hering, Ph.D.
(Washington and Jefferson)
Mark Schweizer, Ph.D.
Instr.: Robert R. Anderson, Ph.D.
(Ohio State Univ.)
Charles N. Lee
Assistants: 2

Mass. Inst. of Tech. (Cambridge 39, Mass.)

Prof.: William N. Locke,* Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof.: Morris Halle, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Joseph R. Applegate, Ph.D.
Henry Hornik, Ph.D.
Richard F. Koch
Instr.: Primus B. Bon
(Berlitz)
Sumner Kirshner
Edward Klima
Lecturer: Herman Klugman, Ph.D.
George Leuca, Jr., Ph.D.
(Univ. of Akron)

Univ. of Massachusetts (Amherst)

Prof.: Frederick C. Ellert,* Ph. D.
 Assoc. Prof.: Peter Heller, Ph. D.
 Instr.: Henry A. Lea
 Eva Schiffer
 Eliz. W. Trahan, Ph.D.
 Edmund Stawiecki
 Daniel C. O'Neil
 (Cornell)

Univ. of Miami (Coral Gables, Fla.)

Prof.: Melanie R. Rosborough*
 Assoc. Prof.: Albert Ivanoff, Ph. D.
 Asst. Prof.: Lee Butterfield
 Instr.: Joan G. Knoche

Miami Univ. (Oxford, Ohio)

Prof.: J. R. Breitenbucher,* Ph. D.
 G. L. Matuschka, Ph. D.
 Asst. Prof.: P. W. Doepper
 E. W. Steiniger, Ph. D.
 C. W. Bangert
 Emeritus: C. H. Handschin, Ph. D.

Michigan State College (East Lansing)

Prof.: Hermann H. Thornton,* Ph. D.
 (On leave)
 Stuart A. Callacher, Ph. D.
 George W. Radimersky, Ph. D.
 Asst. Prof.: Orville L. Abbott, Ph. D.
 Mrs. Edith W. Fischer, Ph. D.
 Mark O. Kistler, Ph. D.
 George P. Steinmetz
 Instr.: Mrs. M. D. Leonhardt
 Emeritus: Leo Cecil Hughes

Univ. of Michigan (Ann Arbor)

Prof.: Henry W. Nordmeyer,* Ph. D.
 F. B. Wahr, Ph. D.
 (Retirement leave)
 W. A. Reichart, Ph. D.
 H. Penzl, Ph. D.
 (On leave)
 O. G. Graf, Ph. D.
 W. H. Bennett, Ph. D.
 (Visiting, Notre Dame)
 Assoc. Prof.: C. K. Pott, Ph. D.
 Frank X. Braun, Ph. D.
 Asst. Prof.: Max Dufner, Ph. D.
 M. Dyck, Ph. D.
 (Mass. Inst. Tech.)
 Lecturer: W. E. Puchwein, Ph. D.
 (Visiting, Graz)
 Instr.: F. A. Lambasa, Ph.D.
 M. C. Crichton, Ph. D.
 W. N. Hughes, Ph. D.
 E. K. Grotgut
 I. E. Seidler, Ph. D.
 R. T. Firestone
 Emeritus: N. L. Willey, Ph. D.
 A. J. Gaiss, Ph. D.
 Assistants: 18

Middlebury College (Middlebury, Vt.)

Prof.: Werner Neuse,* Ph. D.
 Lecturer: Eloise Neuse
 Alfred Blimberg
 (R. I. High School)

Staff of German Summer School:

F. W. Wetzlauff-Egghert, Ph. D.
 (Mainz)

Wilfried Braje (Indiana U.)
 Lotte Köhler, Ph. D.
 (Brooklyn C. H. S.)
 Herbert Lederer, Ph. D.
 (Ohio Univ.)
 Henry H. H. Remak, Ph. D.
 (Indiana Univ.)
 Joachim Seyppel, Ph. D.
 (Bryn Mawr)
 Linus Spuler, Ph. D. (Switz.)
 Wolfgang Stechow, Ph. D.
 (Oberlin)
 Fritz Tiller, Ph. D. (USMA)
 Harold von Hofe, Ph. D. (USC)
 Karl Van D'Elden, Ph. D.
 (USMA)

Univ. of Minnesota (Minneapolis 14)

Prof.: Lynwood G. Downs, Ph. D.
 Frank H. Wood, Ph. D.
 Herman Ramras,* Ph. D.
 Assoc. Prof.: Edwin F. Menze, Ph. D.
 Asst. Prof.: Alvin E. Prottengeier
 Frank D. Hirschbach, Ph. D.
 (Clark Univ.)
 Gerhard H. Weiss, Ph. D.
 Instr.: Helga Slessarev, Ph.D.
 Fred A. Krügel
 Emeritus: Oskar C. Burkhard, Ph. D.
 Gina O. Wangsness
 Assistants: 11

Univ. of Mississippi (University)

Prof.: William Eickhorst,* Ph. D.
 Instr.: Julius S. Winkler (Princeton)
 Garry Garner
 (Mississippi C.)
 Emeritus: R. W. Tinsley
 Assistants: 1

Univ. of Missouri (Columbia)

Prof.: Hermann Barnstorff,* Ph. D.
 Asst. Prof.: Elsa Nagel
 Instr.: Sidney Timmermann
 Peter A. Fischer,
 Ursula Brammer

Mount Holyoke College (South Hadley, Mass.)

Prof.: Erika Meyer,* Ph. D.
 Assoc. Prof.: Edith A. Runge, Ph. D.
 Instr.: Stuart Frieber, Ph.D.
 Emeritus: Ellen C. Hinsdale
 Grace M. Bacon
 Assistants: 4

Univ. of Nebraska (Lincoln 8)

Prof.: William K. Pfeiler,* Ph. D.
 Paul Schach, Ph.D.
 Assoc. Prof.: John Winkelman, Ph. D.
 Asst. Prof.: Donald E. Allison, Ph. D.
 Instr.: Elizabeth R. Werkmeister
 Valentine Suprunowicz
 Emeritus: Joseph E. A. Alexis, Ph. D.
 Assistants: 5

New York City College (New York 31)

Prof.: Sol Liptzin, Ph. D.
 Samuel L. Sumberg, Ph.D.
 Joseph Stern, Ph. D.
 (Cambridge, Eng.)
 Max Weinreich, Ph. D.

Assoc. Prof.: Ludwig Kahn, Ph. D.
Adolf Leschnitzer,* Ph. D.
Herbert Liedke, Ph. D.
John B. Olli, Ph. D.
Richard Plant, Ph. D.
Nathan Süsskind, Ph. D.
Friedrich Thiele, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Eugene Gottlieb, Ph. D.
Werner Mierman, Ph. D.
Erich Gutzmann, Ph. D.
Emeritus: Joseph von Bradish, Ph. D.

New York Univ. (Univ. Heights, N. Y. 53)

Assoc. Prof.: Seymour L. Flaxman, Ph.D.
Robert A. Fowkes,* Ph.D.
Instr.: Erwin Rennert
(Washington Sq.)
Assistants: 2

New York Univ. (Washington Sq., N. Y. 3)

Prof.: Ernst Rose,* Ph. D.
Charlotte Pekary, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Edgar Lohner, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Dorothea Berger, Ph. D.
Arthur Geismar, Ph. D.
Instr.: Mrs. M. Lohner-Clewing, Ph. D.
Paulene H. Roth
Emeritus: G. C. L. Schuchard, Ph. D.

Univ. of North Carolina (Chapel Hill)

Prof.: F. E. Coenen, Ph. D.
W. P. Friederich, Ph.D.
John G. Kunstmann,* Ph. D.
G. S. Lane, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: H. W. Reichert, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: R. T. Taylor, Ph.D.
Walter W. Arndt, Ph.D.
Assistants: 12

Northwestern Univ. (Evanston, Ill.)

Prof.: C. R. Goedsche,* Ph. D.
W. F. Leopold, Ph. D.
Heinrich Schneider, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Meno Spann, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: R. J. Doney, Ph. D.
Heinrich Stammer, Ph. D.
Leland Phelps, Ph. D.
Instr.: Max Baeumer
John Osborne
Assistants: 5

Univ. of Notre Dame (Notre Dame, Ind.)

Prof.: George J. Wack
William H. Bennett, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Rev. Laurence Broestl, C.S.C.
James M. Spillane, Ph. D.
Instr.: John A. A. ter Haar, Ph.D.
Assistants: 2

Oberlin College (Oberlin, Ohio)

Prof.: John W. Kurtz,* Ph. D.
Joseph R. Reichard, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Heinz Politzer, Ph. D.
Instr.: John Gearey
Clifford Barraclough
Robert H. Drummond
(Oberlin Conservatory)
Christina Trendola, Ph. D.
Lecturer: Marjorie Hoover, Ph. D.
Emmy K. Miller

Emeritus: F. W. Kaufmann, Ph. D.
Assistants: 1

Ohio State Univ. (Columbus 10)

Prof.: Dieter Cunz,* Ph.D.
Wolfgang Fleischauer, Ph. D.
Oskar Seidl, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Walter Naumann, Ph.D.
Wayne Wonderley, Ph.D.
Sigurd Burckhardt, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Mrs. Justina Epp
Instr.: Glenn H. Goodman
Isedore M. Edse
Paul Gottwald, Ph.D.
Henrietta Pahl
Louis Sheets
Emeritus: Hans Sperber, Ph. D.
August Mahr, Ph. D.
Assistants: 11

Ohio Univ. (Athens)

Assoc. Prof.: Paul G. Krauss, Ph.D.
Herbert Lederer, Ph.D.
Asst. Prof.: Morton Benson,* Ph.D.
Instr.: Kathryn Johnson
Emeritus: John A. Hess, Ph. D.

Univ. of Oklahoma (Norman)

Prof.: W. A. Willibrand, Ph. D.
Johannes Malthaner, Ph. D.
Gerhard Wiens, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Erich Eichholz, Ph. D.
Instr.: George Harjan
Sara Ballenger, Ph. D.
Emeritus: Roy Temple House, Ph. D.

Univ. of Oregon (Eugene)

Asst. Prof.: Astrid M. Williams, Ph. D.
Hugo Bekker, Ph. D.
(Univ. of Michigan)
Mary C. Davis, Ph. D.
(Cedar Crest Coll.)
Wolfgang A. Leppmann, Ph. D.
Instr.: Franz Langhammer, Ph. D.
Helmut K. Krause
Emeritus: Edmund P. Kremer, Ph.D.

Penn. State Univ. (Univ. Park, Pa.)

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Helen Adolf, Ph. D.
Albert F. Buffington, Ph. D.
Assoc. Prof.: Werner F. Striedieck, Ph. D.
Dagobert de Levie, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Richard J. Browne, Ph. D.
Nora E. Wittman
Emeritus: George J. Wurfl
Herbert Steiner, Ph. D.
Assistants: 11

Univ. of Penn. (Philadelphia 4)

Prof.: Otto Springer,* Ph. D.
Adolf D. Klarman, Ph. D.
Detlev W. Schumann, Ph.D.
Alfred Senn, Ph. D.
Asst. Prof.: Adolph C. Gorr, Ph. D.
Heinz Moenkemeyer, Ph.D.
Richard C. Clark, Ph. D.
Instr.: Gerhard Baumgärtel, Ph. D.
Albert L. Lloyd, Ph.D.
Robert Raphael
(UCLA)

Emeritus: Axel J. Uppvall, Ph. D.

Assistants: Ernst Jockers, Ph. D.

7

University of Pittsburgh

Prof.: Erle Fairfield

Assoc. Prof.: Harry A. Gnatowski, Ph.D.

Klaus W. Jonas, Ph.D.

Asst. Prof.: Lore B. Foltin, J.U.Dr.

Instr.: Charlotte E. Ludwig

Polytech. Inst. of Brooklyn (Brooklyn 1, N.Y.)

Prof.: Bernhard Rechtschaffen,* Ph. D.

Henry Q. Middendorf

Assoc. Prof.: Victor Bobetsky

Asst. Prof.: Conrad P. Homberger, Ph.D.

Frederick C. Kreiling

Instr.: B. Hunter Smeaton

Pomona College (Claremont, Calif.)

Prof.: Carl L. Baumann,* Ph. D.

Asst. Prof.: Gustav Mathieu, Ph.D.

Instr.: Penrith Goff

(UCLA)

Princeton Univ. (Princeton, N. J.)

Prof.: Victor Lange,* Ph.D.

Ernest L. Stahl, Ph. D.

(Visiting, Oxford)

Assoc. Prof.: Bernhard Ulmer, Ph.D.

Werner Hollmann, Ph. D.

Asst. Prof.: Richard Kuehnemund, Ph. D.

George F. Jones, Ph. D.

Peter C. Spycher, Ph. D.

Konrad J. Schaum, Ph. D.

Richard C. Exner, Ph. D.

Friedrich Seel, Ph. D.

(Ludwigshafen)

Instr.: Clifford A. Bernd, Ph. D.

(Heidelberg)

James Wright

(Brown Univ.)

Emeritus: Harvey Hewett-Thayer, Ph. D.

Assistants: 5

Purdue Univ. (Lafayette, Indiana)

Prof.: Elton Hocking,* Ph. D.

Earle S. Randall, Ph. D.

Assoc. Prof.: S. Edgar Schmidt, Ph. D.

Asst. Prof.: Hubert Jannach, Ph. D.

J. Collins Orr

Lawrence R. Radner, Ph. D.

Instr.: Margareta I. Baacke, Ph.D.

Robert L. Beamish

Fritz G. Cohen, Ph. D.

(Milwaukee Downer)

Harry L. Stout

Walther L. Hahn, Ph. D.

W. Merle Hill

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- arine O. Aston, "A Semantic Study of Gothic and Old Icelandic Words for Oral Expression" (Mezger); Mary B. Corcoran, "Zur Bedeutung wichtiger Wörter in den frühen Schriften Rilkes" (Mezger).
- Univ. of Calif., Berkeley: James A. McNeely, "Political Themes in the Literature of the German Enlightenment" (Wolff).
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- Univ. of Chicago: William F. Klatte, "Text and Morphology of the 'Österreichische Chronik von den 95 Herrschaften'" (Metcalf).
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- Harvard Univ.: Margaret B. Guenther, "Thomas Mann as a Critic of German Literature" (Hatfield).
- Indiana Univ.: Gloria C. Winslow, "The Dramas of Cäsar von Arx" (Meessen).
- Iowa State Univ.: Prudent C. Coussens, "The Figure of the Catholic Priest in the Works of Franz Werfel" (Fehling).
- Johns Hopkins Univ.: Gunter K. Rimbach, "Das Kriegstagebuch und die Jugendwerke Felix Hartlaubs" (McClain); Harold E. Lusher, "Joseph Roth, Robert Musil, and Karl Kraus: Their Image of the Old Monarchy and the Emperor Franz Joseph" (McClain).
- Univ. of Michigan: Hugo Bekker, "The Lucifer Motif in the German and Dutch Drama of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (Pott); Wilhelm Dyck, "The Problems of the Russo-Germans in the later Works of Josef Ponten" (Wahr); Walter Lagerwey, "Bilderdijk and the German Enlightenment" (Pott).
- New York Univ.: Bernard Brener, "The Interrelationship of the Essays and the Fiction of Thomas Mann as Revealed through Selected Works" (Geismar); Valentine C. Hubbs, "Consciousness and the Unconscious in the Dramas of Heinrich von Kleist" (Geismar).
- Univ. of N. Carolina: Thomas O. Pinkerton, "A Legal Commentary on the 'Jónsbók'" (Lane and Kunstmann).
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- Univ. of Pennsylvania: Henry Glade, "The Concept of *Humanität* in the Life and Works of Carl Zuckmayer with Emphasis on the Later Period 1933-1956" (Klarmann).
- Univ. of Pittsburgh: George Karlsson, "France in the Life and Works of Theodor Fontane."
- Univ. of Texas: Elaine Boney, "Rilke and Existentialism" (Rehder).
- Western Reserve Univ.: Walter L. DeVold, "The Spirit of the Enlightenment in Brockes' 'Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott'" (Braasch).
- Univ. of Wisconsin: Stuart A. Friebert, "A Chronicle of C. F. Meyer's Life with a Collection of his Comments on his own Works" (Gausewitz); Eugene Norwood, "Lessing and Sentimentalism" (Gausewitz); Lotte Norwood, "*Ere und Scande*, eine Untersuchung der Wortbedeutung in vorhöfischer Zeit" (Heffner).
- Yale Univ.: F. R. Love, "Friedrich Nietzsche and Peter Gast" (Bluhm).

BOOK REVIEWS

Thüring von Ringoltingen: Melusine.

Nach den Handschriften kritisch herausgegeben von Karin Schneider. Texte des späten Mittelalters, Heft 9. Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 1958. 133 S. DM 9.20.

In the introduction the editor describes in some detail fifteen manuscripts and seven incunabula which have been used, plus several incunabula which though known to have existed, are unavailable. A stemma of the manuscripts is offered on page 28. There follows, on pp. 28-35, an essay about the author and his sources.

Ringoltingen's text, which was completed January 28, 1456, is printed on pages 36-129. There is an index of proper names on pages 130-133. The translation was made from the French rîmed "Melusine" of a certain Couldrette, of about 1400. This is available, and comparison has been made. The editor supports the view that this translation belongs in the history of literature as a factor in the history of prose style and of the Novelle, and that its merits put it on a plane with the work of Nikolaus von Wyle, Albrecht von Eyb, and Heinrich Stainhöwel.

A quick look at the language indicates that it is in no way unusual for Bern in the mid-fifteenth century.

University of Wisconsin.

—R. M. S. Heffner

Das Gewissen entscheidet.

Herausgegeben von Amedore Leber, in Zusammenarbeit mit Willy Brandt und Karl Dietrich Bracher. Berlin-Frankfurt/Main: Mosaik Verlag, 1957 (7.-14. Tausend 1958). 303 Seiten.

This new book on the German resistance movement is a continuation of the author's first volume, *Das Gewissen steht auf*, which was reviewed in the February, 1957, issue of this periodical. Again the author presents us with biographical sketches and pictures of courageous individuals who sacrificed their lives in their opposition to Hitler. Though the sketches are of necessity short, they do not fail to make a deep impression upon the reader.

Besides being a moving record, the book is also an aid to the scholar. It contains details that were scarcely known, a valuable bibliography, and a thorough index (referring to items in both volumes). In the opening chapter we find some statistical data on Nazi suppression and a map of concentration camps in Germany, which even now must shock us deeply.

Das Gewissen entscheidet is excellent in organization, format, and print. It is a worthy and moving monument to those who opposed a ruthless regime. This reviewer has successfully used the book in his German classes when he wanted his students to understand what happened in Germany between 1933 and 1945. He can recommend it to his colleagues.

University of Minnesota.

—Gerhard Weiss

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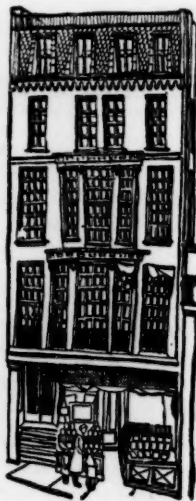
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